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LIVES

OF THE

SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

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AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF TURKEY," "TRAVELS IN PERSIA," "HISTORY OF THE WAR," &c.

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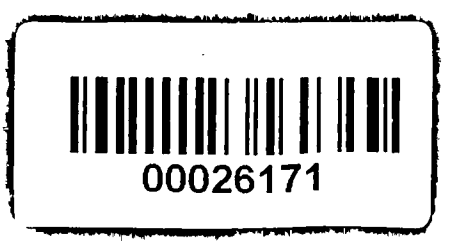
VOLUME I.

RURIK TO PETER THE GREAT, 852—1689.

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PREFACE.

THE First Volume of the present Work was partially issued in 1852; but circumstances interfered with its publication, and it was subsequently withdrawn until the Second Volume could be completed. The Author is now able to resume his Work by the publication of the Two Volumes, bringing the History down to the accession of Alexander the First, and he hopes shortly to add a Third Volume, continuing it to the accession of the present Emperor.

The materials for writing the narrative of these events he has endeavoured to procure from the best authorities. He has likewise gathered information from inedited manuscripts, and from his own personal observation of the country and people of Russia.

Although this Work contains a consecutive history of that vast empire from its earliest period, yet, strictly, it is more *biographical* than *historical;* the public and

private characters of the leading Sovereigns being more particularly dwelt upon; in addition to which, sketches are given of the leading men of the country—the Orloffs, Menschikoff, Munich, Biren, Potemkin, Suwarrow, Paskievitch, Woronzoff, and others.

The First Volume opens with the reigns of the early Sovereigns of Russia, of whom the Author has only given slight notices, since their history is very obscure; it likewise contains a history of the Russo-Greek Church—of the Clergy and their Benefices, and of their Doctrines, Usages, and Ceremonies.

The Second Volume contains the reign of Catherine the First; it includes, likewise, that of Catherine the Second, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of Europe during the eighteenth century. The reign of the Emperor Paul follows, with particulars of the Death of that Sovereign, hitherto involved in so much mystery. There is likewise a Chronological Table given of the different Sovereigns of Russia, and a list of the present members of the Imperial Family.

In the Volume he is now engaged upon, the Reign of Alexander forms a leading feature, such as the French Invasion of Russia, and the Great Flood at St. Petersburgh. Particulars will be given of the

Emperor's last Visit to the Krimea, and of his Death at Taganrog, with sketches of his private character. This volume will likewise contain the Reign of the Emperor Nicholas to the period of his death, and the accession of Alexander the Second; to which will be annexed an Appendix, containing a "Synopsis of the Russian Empire, distinguishing the principal provinces and towns, with their approximate populations."

LONDON, *February*, 1858.

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MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—1858.

The Emperor Alexander Nicholavitch II., born April $\frac{17}{29}$, 1818; married April $\frac{16}{28}$, 1841, to the Grand Duchess, Marie Alexandrovna, daughter of Louis II., Grand Duke of Hesse, born August 8, 1824; of this marriage there are five children, viz.:—

Nicholas Alexandrovitch, born September $\frac{8}{20}$, 1843.
Alexander Alexandrovitch, born $\frac{\text{Feb.}}{\text{March}}\ \frac{26}{10}$, 1845.
Vladimir Alexandrovitch, born $\frac{\text{March}}{\text{April}}\ \frac{27}{10}$, 1847.
Alexis Alexandrovitch, born January $\frac{9}{21}$, 1850.
Marie Alexandrovna, October $\frac{5}{17}$, 1853.

The other members of the Imperial family consist of—

The Empress Mother, formerly Princess Charlotte of Prussia, baptised into the Greek Church, and named Alexandra Feodorovna, born July $\frac{13}{25}$, 1798; married July $\frac{13}{25}$, 1817; a widow $\frac{\text{Feb.}}{\text{March}}\ \frac{18}{2}$, 1855.

The Grand Duchess, Marie Nicholeivna, born August $\frac{6}{18}$, 1819; married Maximilian, Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince D'Eichstadt, July $\frac{2}{14}$, 1839. (The Duke died Nov. 1, 1852).

The Grand Duchess, Olga Nicholeivna, born $\frac{\text{Aug.}}{\text{Sept.}}\ \frac{30}{11}$, 1822; married Charles, Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, July 13, 1846.*

The Grand Duke, Constantine Nicholavitch, born Sep. $\frac{9}{21}$, 1827; married Sept. 11, 1848, to the Princess Alexandra of Saxe-Altenberg, who was born July 8, 1830.

The Grand Duke, Nicholas Nicholavitch, born August $\frac{8}{20}$, 1831; married February 6, 1856, to Alexandra Frederique Wilhenime, Princess of Oldenberg.

The Grand Duke, Michael Nicholavitch, born Oct. $\frac{13}{25}$, 1832.

There are two remaining sisters of the late Emperor Nicholas, viz.:—Marie Paulona, Dowager Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, and Anna Paulona, widow of William III., King of the Low Countries, who died March 17, 1849.

Helene Paulona, widow of the Grand Duke Michael Paulovitch, who died September 7, 1849.

Catherine Michavolina, her daughter, born August $\frac{4}{16}$, 1827; married February $\frac{4}{16}$, 1851, to George, Duke of Mecklenberg-Strelitz.

There was another sister of the late Emperor Nicholas, viz., Catherine Paulona, who married, first, a Prince of the Oldenberg family, and, secondly, the King of Wirtemberg. She died three years after her second marriage.

* There was another daughter, the Grand Duchess, Alexandra Nicholeivna, born June $\frac{1}{13}$ 1835, who died June, 1838.

GOVERNMENTS OF RUSSIA.

THE vast Empire of Russia is divided into fifty-four governments, of which forty-six are administered by the same laws, and after the same fashion.

For the Nomadic tribes, who could neither understand these laws, and some of them ignorant, perhaps, of the very name of Russia, they have particular administrative governments suited to their capacities, such as Siberia, the Caucasus, the countries of the Cossacs, and others of the roving subjects of his Imperial Majesty. Finland alone has retained its rights intact, and has even a Senate of its own. A Governor-general presides over each government, which stands in the following order:—

RUSSIA IN EUROPE.

1—Archangel.
2—Astrakhan.
3—Wilna.
4—Vitepsk.
5—Vladimir.
6—Vologda.
7—Volhynia.
8—Voronetz
9—Viatka.
10—Grodno.
11—Catherinoslaff.
12—Casan.
13—Kaluga.
14—Kieff.
15—Kostroma.
16—Courland.
17—Kursk.
18—Livonia.
19—Minsk.
20—Mohileff.
21—Moscow.
22—Nishnei Novgorod.
23—Novgorod.
24—Olonetz.
25—Orenburg.
26—Orel.
27—Pensa.
28—Perm.
29—Podolia.
30—Poltava.
31—Pskoff.
32—Riazan.
33—St. Petersburgh.
34—Saratoff.
35—Simbirsk.
36—Smolensk.
37—Taurida.
38—Tamboff.
39—Twer.
40—Toula.
41—Kherkoff.
42—Kherson.
43—Tchernigoff.
44—Esthonia.
45—Yaroslaff.
46—Belotosk.
47—Caucasus.
48—Don Cossacs.
49—Bessarabia.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.

50—Jenisseesk.
51—Irkutsk.
52—Tobolsk.
53—Tomsk.
54—Omsk.

LIVES

OF THE

SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

The Russians descended from Japhet—Aborigines of the Forest—The Slavi—their habits of Life—Religious Worship—Gods and Sacrifices—devoted to Music—determined Pagans—Earliest Period of Russian History—Kief—Oleg—Primitive Russian Town—Rurik, the First Sovereign—succeeded by Igor I.—Oleg, his Uncle, appointed Regent—his Expedition to Constantinople—Barbarities of the Invaders—his Treaty with Leo—Death of Oleg, and Accession of Igor—Invades the Greeks—his Cruelties and Defeats—Second Expedition—Returns to Kief—is Murdered by the Drevelins—Olga, Regent—her Revenge on the Drevelins—Visits Constantinople—is baptized Helen—Sviatoslof I.—his Cannibal Life and Horrid Death—Yarapolk I.—Assassinated by Order of his Brother—Vladimir I. baptized Basil—Christianity prevails in Russia—Civilization of the People—Character of this Prince—becomes a Saint—Sviastopolk I. dethroned by his Brother—Yaroslaf I.—his prosperous Reign and Alliances with the Royal Houses of Europe—his Government—great Progress of the Russian Empire—divides his Inheritance among his five Sons—Isiaslof I.—baptized Dimitri—his Struggles with his Brothers for the Throne—assisted by the King of Poland—his Death—Is succeeded by Vsevolod I.—his short Reign—Sviastopolk II.—Tartar Invasion of Russia—Barbarous Civil Wars—Vladimir

II.—a great Sovereign for Russia—his Death, succeeded by Civil Wars—Meteslof I.—Yarapolk II.—Vsevolod II.—Igor II.—Isiaslof II.—Iouri I.—The Tartars again appear in Russia—their dreadful Depredations—Death of the Grand Prince—Murder of Andrew I. —Russia over-run by the Wild Tribes—the Mongols—the Tartars, &c. —Mikhail I.—Vsevolod III.—the Country over-run by Invaders—Genghis Khan, the great Tartar Chief—his massacre of the Russians —Iouri II.—his Disastrous Reign and Tragical End—Yaroslaf II.—his active measures to repair the Tartar Invasion—Defeat of the Swedes by the young Prince Alexander of Novogorod—the name of Alexander Nevski conferred upon him—he Defeats the Lithouanians—Yaroslaf visits the Tartar Camp—he Dies on the road on his Return—supposed to have been Poisoned—some Account of the Tartar Tribes from Carpin—The Pope's Ambassador—his Interview with the different Khans—their Power and Arrogance—Letter from Gaieck Khan to King Louis of France.

Of the ancient history of that vast portion of the Globe which now constitutes the Russian Empire, comprising more than one half of Europe and a third part of Asia, very little is known; but we understand that, up to the fourth century, the wilderness was seldom disturbed by any but those wild tenants of nature that prowl in the forests, or flutter in the branches.

The most inquisitive historians, both foreign and domestic, who have endeavoured to trace the origin of those stems in their first shoots from whence the people of Russia are derived, have been able to throw but very little light on the subject. Their researches have been lost in traditions so romantic and so obscure, that there is scarcely any hope of arriving at the truth; and to wander into the wide field of conjecture is far beyond the province of the historian. From the best authorities that can be obtained, we understand that the few squalid aborigines by whom it was scantily peopled, are said to

have been descended from Rouss, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. The inhospitable country, partly covered with dense forests, and partly locked in eternal ice, offered but few attractions to the Immigrant; and it was not until Europe poured out her hordes of population to seek new homes, that we hear of the Scythians, the Huns, and the Slavonians, with other tribes, finding their way to those heretofore unknown regions, then without a name. Of the Scythians, we learn that they were the fiercest of all the barbarians; they even drank the blood of their enemies, and used their skulls for drinking-cups. The winter in this climate lasted for eight months, during which time the natives passed the snowy mountains in sledges, whilst in the summer they over-ran the deserts. They gloried in preserving the barbarous memory of their ancestors. The Scythians were succeeded by the Drevelins, another race, whose customs were as savage as the animals with whom they lived in the obscurity of the forest. They nourished themselves principally on roots, and were but little removed from the beasts of the field.

Towards the north-west were tribes consisting of a motley race of Surmates, and from them are descended the modern Lithouanians, Livonians, and Courlanders. The whole southern part of Russia, even to the Krimea, was for some time inhabited by Goths; and between the Volga, the Don, and Mount Caucasus, dwelt a nation descended from the Medes, called Surmates. This was about the third century, and even at that early period they are said to have had a sort of political constitution, by which each individual was either a master or a slave. The Slavi about the sixth century over-ran that

lofty and sterile table-land bounded by China, where the rivers find their source and make their way to the Frozen Ocean, into which they empty their waters. The beasts of the forests and the fishes of the gloomy seas were their food, and for a long time they had no other clothing than that with which the wild animals supplied them.

It would be presuming too much to attempt to stamp their history with truth, even before the means of recording it were known; furthermore, the barbarism of the age would rather extinguish knowledge than perpetuate it. But as the Slavonians are deemed to be the principal source from whence Russia was peopled, and as some of the usages and customs of the present day may be traced to the Slavi, we shall introduce a slight sketch of their history as derived from the best authorities, since their character and habits of life are better known than those of the other tribes. They are said to have been courageous, and reckless of life. Their wants were few, which, when supplied, they passed their intervals of repose in ease and supineness. To satisfy these wants they had to dispute with the beasts of the forest. They may indeed be said to have existed almost in a state of nature, prowling about like the other animals, and taking up with them their habitations in the woods. Some show of religious worship was established amongst them in the form of Paganism. They adored the God of Thunder as the God of the Universe, whom they called "Peroune." The lightning, launched as it were by an invisible hand, struck with awe the wild tenant of the forests, and the majestic spectacle of the storm penetrated to his heart with horror, so that he worshipped involuntarily the God of the Elements; thus were they taught to look up to the great

Regulator of the Universe, on whom they considered that all events depended. They made to themselves Gods of wood and metal—not that they considered the statue as the body of God; but as animated by Him to whom they paid homage and asked for blessings. They called him "Belobog," and believed that he was capable of supplying their wants. They attributed all evil to another God whom they called "Tchernobog," and offered sacrifices to appease him. He was represented under the figure of a lion. They sought to propitiate him by bloody offerings.

The Slavi had no temples, but surrounded certain places with stones, which were then considered sacred. They built rude altars of stones, piled upon each other, excessively high, which lasted for ages. Here the priests celebrated their mysteries. They had also certain fêtes in honour of the dead.

Their grand Festival was on the first of March, when at daybreak the people would repair with flambeaux to the cemeteries to offer sacrifices. They had a curious custom of making a straw effigy of the deceased, which they would bring out from the village, and either burn or throw it into the river. The funeral service was considered sacred amongst them. On the death of a Slavi the old man of the village announced it by a black stick, which he carried from house to house. A funeral pile was raised, where the body was burned, together with the wife of the deceased, his arms, his horse, &c., the ashes of which were collected and placed in a small earthen vessel, and then buried in the ground. Their women were considered by them but as drudges and slaves, who were destined to serve their masters in the next world as well as in this. Hence, when the widows were burned

on the funeral pile, a female slave was sacrificed on the body of her master. The old and feeble were deserted by their children, and left to expire of hunger and disease. These people attributed some marvellous qualities to certain waters and lakes to which they resorted for the cure of particular disorders, and into which they would throw pieces of money as sacrifices. They were passionately fond of public solemnities, and would pay homage to trees and other idols; and, under the shade of their sacred oaks, they believed themselves to be in the presence of their god, "Peroune." So far as any refinement or civilization can be traced amongst them, they are said to have been principally devoted to music, and on their journeys to have carried with them harps and lutes of their own making. Poetry was likewise cultivated by them, and their bards were rich in mythological allusions. Of their language, some very faint notions may be derived from the Bible, which was translated into it by St. Cyril about the beginning of the eleventh century; this is almost the only record of it in existence. The idiom was found to be so barbarous, that it is difficult to express the commonest ideas in it except to those born in a rigorous climate, where harshness of expression and guttural sounds are the general rule. The original dialect is almost lost, it having merged into the Russ, which became the most predominant, and which may be pronounced as any thing but euphonious.

The Slavi made the most determined resistance to Christianity when it was first introduced among them. They sprinkled their altars with the blood of the Christians, believing it to be the most agreeable sacrifice to their Gods; and, in the grossness of their superstition, they

would drink the blood of the Christians, imagining that it would inspire them with the spirit of prophecy. They were blindly attached to the religion of their fathers, whose customs, if ever so barbarous, when consecrated by time, they most obstinately persisted in. They seemed to revel in their Pagan darkness, and were so deeply plunged in the slough of idolatry, that it was a long time before it was extirpated by the light of Christianity. In time of war, they consecrated their military emblems as objects of worship.

The Scythians formed a very numerous part of this mingled population. They made use of poisoned arrows. To cross a river, they filled sacks with cork, on which they placed themselves, and were drawn over by horses, which they held by the tail. They had no written laws, but administered justice according to the natural dictates of reason. There was a singular custom amongst them:— When two friends wanted to swear to lasting friendship, they made incisions in their fingers, and received the blood in a cup, both dipped the points of their swords in it, and, lifting them to their heads, eagerly sucked it.

To these different roots of the Russian empire may be added the Tartars and the Mongols, the Varangians, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians, of whom but little is known, and less recorded. The Varangians are said to have arrived from the borders of the Black Sea, and to have given the first Sovereign to Russia in the person of Prince Rurik; they conquered the Slavonians and other tribes. But with this so much of fable is mixed up, that it is difficult to distinguish between truth and error. The Slavi are generally considered as the principal root from whence the great Empire of Russia has been peopled. It is interesting to trace their pro-

gress from savage life (already described), to the refinements of civilization—to see the forests giving place to crowded cities—ignorance and barbarism dispelled by the light of knowledge;—to see Paganism superseded by Christianity—and those once barren tracts now become a colossal Empire, stretching out her arms to the remotest regions, her armies conquering kingdoms—her ships navigating every sea; and Russia, not only assuming her rank, but asserting her pre-eminence in the scale of nations—the earliest historic knowledge of which dates back to the fifth century, when the Finns and Slavonians inhabited the regions about the Dnieper and the Upper Don. On the banks of the Dnieper, Kief founded the city of Kief in the year 430, and he ruled as Sovereign Prince over the people of the country; but his origin is so very obscure that it cannot be satisfactorily traced. His power was, however, sufficiently established as to become formidable to the Greeks, since he carried his arms even to the gates of Constantinople, where he concluded an advantageous peace with the reigning emperor, Probus. On returning from Greece, he turned his arms against the Bulgarians; but of the time of his death, and who were his successors, nothing is known, and Russian history is too dark to be penetrated on the subject.

It is presumed that Kief was a Varangian, since they had so considerable a share in founding the Russian State. They were a northern people, of Gothic descent, a warlike multitude, always in quest of adventures; and their maritime expeditions are first discoverable about the year 516, when they were known in the East under the name of Franks, at the time of that expedition alluded to, headed by Kief. These people afterwards

appeared in Ireland, then in Italy and France, to display their warlike propensities. The next mention of any Sovereign Prince of Russia was Oleg, who made war upon the Princes of Kief. He built the City of Novogorod, which signifies "new city," and subdued these Princes when they were all united under one head; the new capital then became the seat of government about the year 830. On the death of Oleg, the government was divided between three brothers, Rurik, Seniaf, and Trouver. This gave rise to intestine disturbances; but, on the death of his brothers, Rurik became the ruling Prince of the infant Empire in 852, when the country was distinguished by the name of Russia. Rurik took up his residence at Sataraya Ladoga, and styled himself "Grand Prince," thereby to denote his supremacy over the subordinate princes. In the fourth year of his reign he removed to Novogorod, which thenceforward became the capital of the Russian monarchy, which consisted entirely of log-huts, surrounded by walls of earth of the rudest construction. The Russian chronicles assert that Rurik was the son of a Slavonian mother, and that he married a Slavonian. Igor, his son, is said to have espoused Olga, who was reported to have been descended from the ancient Slavonian princes; but it is most difficult to trace the blending of the different tribes, by which ultimately all came under the name of *Russians*. Rurik took great pains to concentrate his power; but the Princes of Kief, Oskold and Dir, still maintained their independence by a ferocious valour, and by a system of brigandage which so distinguished these barbarous ages.

Rurik died after a reign of seventeen years, in 879, and left one son, Igor I., a minor, then only five years of

age, who was committed to the charge of his uncle, Oleg, as guardian. The people, who had been brought up to warlike propensities, and whom the spirit of conquest was ever animating, found an admirable leader in Oleg, who had distinguished himself by his conquests over the Slavonish, Finnish, and Lithouanian tribes, all of whom became united under his government. Even at this early period, it is said that the Russians were much attached to their princes. "Let us die for our Prince!" was their cry when Oleg presented the grandson of Rurik to the assembled chiefs; and, to secure their obedience, Oleg had only to produce the son of Rurik.

Kief was at this time an independent city, of which Oleg possessed himself by stratagem. He conducted a large army towards it; but, fearing that he might fail in his attack, he sent an invitation to the princes, Oskold and Dir, to come up and confer with him, concealing his army in the mean time. The moment these princes arrived, he presented to them the son of Rurik, saying that they were not of the race of princes. He then gave the signal, and the soldiers massacred them at his feet. Oleg now became master of the city of Kief, in which he established his government. He offered to these warlike tribes the pillage of the wealth of the Golden City, if they would follow him to Constantinople, and he found no difficulty in enlisting an army of 80,000 men for that purpose, who were embarked in 2,000 small barques on this expedition. The sudden appearance of a northern flotilla in the Bosphorus, is not a little remarkable. From the Byzantine historians of the ninth century, we have but very imperfect descriptions of those invasions, to which Gibbon thus alludes:—"The savage warriors of the original Russian provinces, de-

scending the Dnieper in Coracles, hollowed out of the trunk of a beech or willow, imposed tribute on the Eastern Empire." Their barbarous warfare of the times consisted of almost every outrage on humanity; and Oleg's followers might be said to have been drunk with the most horrible excitement. Russian history is very obscure as to the mode of armament, their state of discipline, and how such tumultuous hordes could have been kept together; but it is very clear as to the difficulties which they subdued—the astonishing intrepidity and perseverance of their Chief, and the complete success of his enterprises.

Oleg's troops incurred the most incredible toil in passing the cataracts of the Borysthenes. For the space of fifteen leagues, the navigation of the river was impeded by successive rocks; and, as they approached the cataracts, they were obliged to unload the Coracles, and by manual strength convey them over the rocks, which they did with complete success. Their baggage was conveyed in the same way, whilst the banks of the river were peopled with hostile tribes, opposing their progress at an immense cost of life; but they pursued their undertaking with great courage, even when so beset on both sides of the river by their enemies, who were thirsting to avenge themselves on the invaders. The Borysthenes contracted below the cataracts, which increased their peril; but they passed on in safety to the mouth of the river, where, resting on an island for some time to repair their vessels, they launched upon the Euxine, and in a short time found themselves before the walls of Constantinople.

The Greeks were much alarmed at the approach of their invaders, and their emperor, Leo (styled the philosopher), took such precautions as he thought would be an

effectual safeguard to prevent their landing in the Golden City. He directed a heavy chain of iron to be slung across the harbour, so that no vessel could get within its basin. But this did not arrest the progress of Oleg, who ordered his followers to draw his two thousand barques on shore, where wheels were attached to their flat keels, and by the aid of the flowing sails, added to manual labour, they all navigated the tract of land, even to the gates of Byzantium. On their way, these wild tribes committed the most horrible excesses which the brutal nature of primitive savages could execute, or their unbridled licentiousness could invent. The Greeks fled before them; and, when Oleg arrived at Constantinople, he found the city nearly deserted. Over the gate he hung his shield as a trophy, and led his followers on to pillage and destruction, with which they, for some time, occupied themselves. The Emperor (it is said, with the view of taking him off by poison) invited him to a feast; but he was at length obliged to negotiate with Oleg an ignominious treaty, binding himself to pay tribute to each vessel sailing under the invader's flag; to remit all duties upon Russian merchants for half a year, and to furnish them with ample means to prosecute their journey homewards. Oleg returned to Kief laden with spoils and trophies of victory, which inspired his people with profound respect for so great a conqueror.

His followers, not satisfied with what he had obtained, urged him on to new conquests; but Oleg contented himself with imposing another treaty on the Emperor Leo, which, even at this early period, shows an adroit mixture of tact and rapacity, and some germs of that statesmanship for which the Russian rulers have been ever so distinguished, which has procured them such an enlargement

of their Empire. Many new clauses were insisted upon, which were pretended to have been forgotten in the former treaty, levying new contributions, and these were acceded to by Leo.

Oleg fastened the most intolerable yoke of despotism upon the people, whom he governed as Regent for thirty-three years; but he may be said to have laid the foundations of the Russian Empire by his conquests, and by which he materially extended her dominions. For this barbarous age, Oleg may be deemed a great man, if craft, daring, and treachery, constitute barbaric greatness. He was bold and adventurous, and breathed into the vanquished people who became his subjects, a ferocious avidity for plunder; he won over the Slavonian, Finnish, and Lithouanian tribes, who had till then been independent. They formed a part of that numerous host which he led to Byzantium; and they swore to observe the treaty, wrested from the Emperor Leo, by their Gods "Peroune" and "Voloss," by their shields, their swords, and their arms, which they placed on the ground. To the genius and daring of Oleg much may be attributed—much of the subsequent aggrandizement of the Russian Empire, from Novogorod to Byzantium. He acquired such glory, that his subjects looked upon him as a magician. He died in 913, when Igor I. ascended the throne at the age of forty—who was at that time considered by the people to be an imbecile prince. But when he could throw off the shackles imposed upon him by his uncle, he showed himself of sufficient courage to subdue the insurgents to his government, and to reduce them to the utmost submission. In order to exhibit his warlike pro-

* This treaty, which is preserved in the chronicles of Nestor, is extremely curious, and gives the first proof of Russian diplomacy.

pensities, and to satisfy the cupidity of his subjects, in the year 941 he fitted out a large expedition for Constantinople, consisting of a thousand barques containing 40,000 men, with the view to extend his Empire, to find employment for the military genius of his people, and to emulate the example of his illustrious uncle. His real object, however, was spoliation, since he had no pretence whatever for war with the Greeks. Igor and his followers were inspired with a ferocity far exceeding that of his victorious predecessor. They ravaged the frontier towns which lay at a distance from the capital, and committed such cruelties upon the inhabitants, that Igor deserved the name of the Russian demon, as given to him in history. The Greeks who fell into his hands were impaled—they were tied to trees, crucified, burned by slow fires; so that he was called the "Infernal General," commanding an army of executioners. The people fled, or perished, before him. They were utterly defenceless.

From the facilities of the destruction which he carried on, his headlong fury gathered strength—the wretched Greeks were given up to be tortured by his brutal soldiers. But, before Igor could make good his march on Byzantium, the inhabitants, wrought up to desperation, resolved to revenge themselves on their brutal invaders for the cruelties which they had committed. They assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and resolved in their desperation to make a last struggle for life, and to repay the horrors of the carnage in kind. They poured down upon the Russian troops with the greatest fury, surrounded the barbarians within an armed circle, and committed the most dreadful massacre upon them. The Russians fled in dismay and disorder. Some plunged into the sea, whilst others reached their vessels; and

Igor was glad to escape with the loss of the greater part of his followers and of his barques. These were burned by the Greeks with an unextinguishable fire, which they threw amongst them. Igor returned to Kief, thirsting for revenge, when he soon determined on a second expedition against the Greeks. For this purpose, he took into his pay the warlike Petchenegans, and set sail in 944, with a much larger force than on the former occasion. On his arrival at Byzantium, he was induced by Constantine to forego pillage and destruction, by paying *the tribute enforced upon him.* At first, Igor's demands were high and inadmissible—three pounds of gold for each soldier, or mariner of the fleet. In their naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks, whose savage enemy showed no mercy; but Igor now listened to the counsels of moderation, recommended by a hoary sage. "Be content," he said, "with the liberal offer of Cæsar. Is it not better to obtain, without a combat, the possession of gold, silver, silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty with the sea? We do not tread on the land; we float on the abyss of waters, and a common death hangs over our heads."

Igor abandoned Greece, and returned once more to Kief; but Constantinople was subsequently visited almost annually by the northern strangers—the Russians had seen the magnificence, and tasted the luxury, of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, had excited the desires of their savage countrymen; they envied the gifts of Nature which their own climate denied; they coveted the works of art, which they were too lazy to imitate, and too indigent to purchase. The Varangian princes unfurled the banner of piratical adventure; and

their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations which dwelt on the northern side of the Azan. Their boats were scooped out of a beech, or willow-tree; but this slight and narrow foundation was continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve feet. These boats were built without a deck, and had two rudders and a mast to move with sails and oars. They were calculated to hold from sixty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. Their cargoes consisted of slaves of every age; furs of every sort; hides and cattle, for which they took back in return corn, wine, and oil, with the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. The month of June was the season of departure for the fleet; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters of the river. At the more shallow falls, it was necessary to lighten the boats; but the deeper cataracts were impassable, and the mariners dragged their barques and their slaves over miles of ground.

This passion for plunder was one of the principal causes of the immense and premature growth of the Russian Empire. As soon as a leader showed himself to undertake an expedition against Byzantium, multitudes flocked to his standard; and, as fresh swarms of barbarians were continually arriving, the difficulty of their leader was to find employment for their restlessness and avidity for plunder. The Varangians appear to have been the principal tribes. They were for the most part foot-soldiers, and were armed with cutlasses and sharp swords; whereas, the Scythians and Slavonians did not make use of iron in their arms, but used only clubs and wooden shields.

Karamsin speaks highly of the Varangians: how they were covered with breastplates of steel, and wore helmets; and, as to their discipline, how they marched in battalions, and guarded themselves by outposts; how their chiefs had a guard that was termed noble; that they formed camps surrounded by ditches and palisades; and that they had a system of tactics, the most complete that we hear of among ancient warriors; whilst the Slavonians fought as they pleased, unconnectedly and at random. Igor was forced to go to war to supply the cupidity of his plundering followers, and to furnish them with clothing, arms, and horses. Every year the Grand Prince left Kief in November, and did not return until April, when they visited several cities, and levied contributions. His warriors twice compelled him to march against Byzantium, by which they enriched the magazines of the Prince, and loaded themselves with the spoils of the Golden City; and, when these were exhausted, they sought out other people, whom they treated as enemies in order to impose their tributes.

Again, also, they obliged Igor to march against the Drevelins—a very warlike race—to impose tribute; and on the last occasion, going too far into the interior, he was taken in ambuscade, and massacred with the whole of his guard, near a town called Kovesten, in 945, after a reign of thirty-two years. He left one son, Sviatoslof, then an infant. His widow, therefore, took the reins of government as Regent, called Olga. Her first care was to revenge the death of her husband upon the Drevelins whom Igor had attempted to pillage. She wreaked her vengeance in the most sanguinary way on these people, and annexed their territory to her dominions. Olga had a bold and daring mind, far beyond that of one in the age in

which she lived. She understood the science of government, and made a tour of the Empire, in which she much improved the internal communication, by ordering bridges and roads to be constructed. After reigning twenty years as Regent, she abdicated in favour of her son, Sviatoslof; but the most astonishing epoch in the life of Olga, was that of her adopting the Christian faith (Paganism being the then religion of the country), that her daring spirit should have been converted to Christianity, and that from the lowest Pagan grade she should be distinguished in the Russian calendar in the rank of saints. She visited Constantinople, and found a patriarch ready to absolve her from all her sins. Constantine himself assisted at her baptism, and gave her the name of Helen. She returned to her country laden with presents from the Emperor, but she could not induce her son to become a convert to her faith. After her death, priests burned incense over the body, and canonized it in the Russo-Greek Church. She is now Saint Helen, and a worker of miracles.

Sviatoslof I. succeeded to the sovereignty in 965. War, rapine, and conquests formed the sole objects of his ambition. He is described as a hero amongst the barbarous people whom he had to govern. He collected an army composed of the most savage of his troops; he lived in camps, and in a tent at all seasons in common with his guards, and was satisfied with himself cutting up the flesh of dead horses, and dressing it upon the coals, very like the custom of the Kalmucs of the present day. His soldiers were enthusiastic in their attachment to his person and government, since he was equally with themselves hardy and ferocious. All that he required was an enemy to fight against. He invaded the country

of the Petchenegans, where he was defeated in endeavouring to make a passage through his enemies to return home. They fell upon and scalped him. His skull, mounted with a gold scoop, was made into a drinking-cup by the Petchenegans, who observed, "It is thus we treat princes who can be content only with blood, and who desire to reign over dead bodies." His life was terminated in 972, after a short reign of seven years only.

After the Regency, previously to his undertaking the last campaign, Sviatoslof had divided the country among his three sons, Yarapolk, Oleg, and Vladimir, reserving to himself the supreme authority. The partition of the Empire formed a new era in the government—the disastrous influence of which is conspicuous through Russian history for many centuries afterwards, and may be said to have been the greatest evil which the country had ever experienced, since it gave rise to those sanguinary conflicts by which its early annals are so distinguished.

Yarapolk succeeded to the sovereignty of Kief, which his father had left him in 972. He made war against his brothers, Oleg and Vladimir. The former was defeated; and, in crossing a bridge, he fell into the river and was drowned, and Yarapolk made much lamentation over him when he was no more, although he had been pursuing him with the most relentless cruelty. Vladimir was obliged to fly into the country of the Varangians, who assisted him to return to Novogorod. He then marched towards Kief, where he met with little resistance, since Yarapolk had taken flight; but he was betrayed by a traitor among his own people to commit himself to the mercy of Vladimir, and he returned to Kief. The credulous Yarapolk was conducted into the apartment of his brother, whither he went

to claim his protection, but two hired assassins met him at the door, and plunged their daggers into his breast. Such was the dreadful termination of his reign of eight years only, which presents nothing but a series of conflicts and sanguinary struggles. He was succeeded by Vladimir I. in 980, who had shown himself to be a monster by nature, not only by the murder of his brother, but by other acts of inhumanity, which so disgrace the early annals of Russia. Being desirous of having some legitimate hold on the throne, he determined to marry the widow of his brother Yarapolk, the Princess Rochinida of Plescow. The mother refused to bestow her daughter on a fratricide, whose hand was still reeking with the blood of his brother; but Vladimir carried her off, and then caused her two brothers to be murdered, and the mother to be assassinated on the dying bodies of her sons. He was as yet the most ferocious of the Grand Princes of Russia, although by his sword he extended the Empire to the Ouralian mountains, towards the Caspian into Tauridi, and over Gallicia, Lithouania, and Livonia.

Vladimir, with all his cruelties, was considered as one of the great men of the age. He won the confidence of his subjects, and terrified his enemies. His mind was comprehensive, and his intellect far beyond the times in which he lived. His life was a brilliant series of victories, however obtained, whether by fraud or courage. He had a taste for civilization, in which he made considerable advances. By his daring enterprises, he commanded the respect of surrounding nations. He was the first Russian prince to be noticed by them. They courted his alliance, and wished to know his system of government. The introduction of Christianity into Russia produced its correspond-

ing effects, that of civilizing the people, who were so ignorant that they attributed the success of their prince to some supernatural influence, which induced them the more easily to embrace the Christian faith, and this, likewise, induced from them the most implicit obedience to his despotism, even to placing their lives at his disposal. The manners and customs of the people at this time were of the rudest kind; their commerce consisted principally in piracy and of the mechanical arts. They knew scarcely sufficient to supply their wants. The rigour of the climate soon taught them to build log-huts, of which their towns were principally composed. Something like civilization began to progress amongst this people, although still of the rudest kind. The men were chiefly employed in war and in hunting, whilst agriculture was left principally to the women.

The soldiers followed the banner of their chief from their love of plunder, which was the only pay they received from him. They were a hardy, bellicose race, always ready for an expedition. So despotic was the Grand Prince, that he could dispose of their persons and their property at his pleasure. All the affairs of state were regulated by him; his will was their law. After the Greek invasion, civilization made considerable progress. Vladimir would occasionally dine off silver plates brought from Byzantium, and the rich people clothed themselves in silks and shawl girdles, with morocco boots. He possessed a good taste for the fine arts, and employed Grecian architects to build churches, palaces, and public institutions in Russia after his conversion to the Christian faith. He had, until this period, been a most determined Pagan; and although brought up by his Christian grandmother, Olga, she had failed to

implant in him the seeds of her religion; but, on the contrary, he increased the number of idols of Kief, and raised a superb statue at Novogorod to his God, "Peroune." The Pagan glory of the country had now arrived at its highest pitch, the Christian religion introduced by Olga not having yet made much progress in it. About this period, deputies from Greece arrived to entreat Vlădimir to embrace their religion, and to seek his alliance; but he was first desirous to be informed of the creeds and ceremonies of the different religions offered to him, for which purpose he sent messengers to several countries to see the Mahommedan, the Roman Catholic, and the Greek Churches. The two former had made no impression upon them; but on going to the imperial city of Constantinople, and on seeing the imposing ceremonies of the Greek Church at Santa Sophia, they made such a report to Vladimir, that he decided on adopting that faith, and his messengers had his permission to return to Constantinople to receive baptism. The Prince then determined on going himself to that city, which he did in hostile array, claiming to be allied to the Emperor, by asking his sister, Anna, in marriage, his former wife, the Princess Rochinida, being dead. He espoused this princess, and was baptized, receiving the name of Basil.

On his return to Kief, he overthrew the images of his former idolatry, declaring that those who worshipped them would be considered the enemies of Jesus Christ and of the Prince. The conversion of Vladimir was hastened or determined by his desire for a Roman wife. The Russians had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the

priests, the pomp and order of the ceremony. They were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious songs; nor was it difficult to persuade them that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the Christians.

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulated himself and the Greek Church on the conversion of the Russians. "Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded, by the voice of reason and religion, to acknowledge Jesus for their God—the Christian missionaries for their teachers—the Romans for their friends and brethren,"—but the savage deities of the north were still propitiated with human sacrifices. In the choice of a victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a Christian to an idolater; and the father who defended his son from the dreadful knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic multitude. What other could be expected from that barbarous mode of converting Pagans to Christianity, driving them in flocks to the river side, and compelling them on a certain day to receive the Greek baptism? As the crowds drove on, to each batch was given the name of a saint. This rough-hewn sort of religion could have but little beneficial effect on these converts to the Greek faith. To deter his subjects from apostatizing, Vladimir stripped his Pagan divinities, which had formerly been fattened with Christian blood, and the priests were dragged to execution at the tails of horses, loaded with blows, and thrown into the Dnieper. Basil issued an edict requiring the people to repair the next day to the banks of the river in order to receive baptism, and many thousands of them were thus received into the Christian Church.

Still, for a long time, Christianity and idolatry struggled for the mastery, as it were, in Russia. The people, though they destroyed their images in obedience to the orders of their Prince, yet preserved the likeness of them on the walls of their houses, thereby establishing a sort of mixed creed, by which the living God was mocked, since the vicious features of Paganism were retained with the superstitions of a Church degraded by almost equal idolatry. Vladimir engaged in numerous wars, by which he materially aggrandized his empire. His last expedition was against his rebel son, Yaroslaf, but he is said to have died of grief on the road, after a reign of thirty-five years, in 1015. The cause of his death may be considered some little retaliation for his former cruelties in destroying his two brothers. The people mourned his loss: for his many acts of greatness and glory he was canonized, and is now become a saint in the Russian Church. Eight centuries after his death, the Empress Catherine instituted an order of knighthood to his honour.

The death of Vladimir, styled the Great, in 1015, was the signal for the renewal of those outrages, commonly called "Civil Wars," which had so prevailed in Russia previously to his reign by the three brothers and their adherents for the vacant sovereignty. The Grand Princes, as patrimonial lords of the country, granted to their sons different principalities, and this not only in their lifetime, but by testamentary bequests; the several princes were bound to do homage to the Grand Prince, and were his principal vassals. Upon the decease of the Sovereign, from whom a distinct prince had received his principality, it became hereditary, and was regarded as the patrimony of the prince and his family, by which

means every separate one acquired nearly as much power in his territory as the Grand Prince had in his principality: such was the genius of the Russian constitution at that time, if such a term might be given to the infant Empire. This state of the nation must have greatly facilitated its subjugation to any foreign enemy, as will be seen in the further history of the Sovereigns of Russia.

Sviastopolk at length succeeded in overthrowing his brothers, two of whom, Boris and Gleb, he murdered when he ascended the throne in 1015; but in his attempt to conquer the third brother, Yaroslaf, the Prince of Novogorod, who attacked him with his followers, he took to flight, and was for a time deposed by him, who entered the city of Kief. Sviastopolk sought refuge with his father-in-law, the King of Poland, by whom he was assisted, and a great engagement took place between the Polish and Russian forces, when Yaroslaf was obliged to fly, and Sviastopolk was reinstated in the sovereign power. But he was guilty of the most horrible treachery against the King of Poland, by ordering the massacre of all the Polish troops which yet remained in the city of Kief. The king was so indignant at the ingratitude of his son-in-law, that he annexed to his own dominions a part of the Russian territory, and forcibly withdrew his daughter from the infamous Sviastopolk, who again took flight from Kief, and went to implore the aid of the Petchenegans, a savage tribe, who, with the hope of pillage, assisted him. Various fortunes followed the combatants for empire between the two brothers: an engagement took place, when Sviastopolk was completely defeated. He fled once more, and died on the road in a wretched condi-

tion, when Yaroslaf was firmly established on the throne as "Veliki Kaniz," or Grand Duke, in 1019, which title, until this time unknown in Russia, was said to have been borrowed from the Germans. The new sovereign did much to extend the power of Russia. He conquered Livonia, and attached it to his dominions; he retook the provinces annexed to Poland; in a maritime war with the Greeks he was completely successful, and established a considerable commerce with that country. This prince died after a reign of thirty-five years, much regretted by his subjects, by whom his memory was for a long time held in great respect as a generous ruler, a faithful friend, and a forgiving enemy. He was very studious, and read a great deal; he caused several Greek books to be translated, which were deposited in the Church of St. Sophia, which he had built at Kief. The art of painting was introduced from Greece into Russia; this was antecedent to its being known in Italy; and some specimens may now be seen in that Church which would not disgrace more modern times.

Yaroslaf widely extended the Christian faith, by building churches and augmenting the revenues of the clergy; also by establishing numerous schools for the education of the people; and, as a singular instance of the superstition of the age, he so compassionated the fate of his two brothers, who had died Pagans, and hoping to release them from purgatory, that he caused their bones to be disinterred, and to be baptized. By considerably extending his dominions, and from his successful war against the Greeks, this prince was recognised as the first sovereign of the north. His alliance was courted by foreign powers. Henry I. of France espoused his second daughter, it was thought, influenced much by the

Pope, who by this means hoped to bring Russia within the pale of the Holy See. The King of Poland married his sister; and his eldest son, who died before his father, married into an English family, that of Harold, Duke of Kent. The third son married the sister of the grand Duke of Trêves; and the fourth espoused a daughter of the imperial Emperor of Constantinople. Furthermore, his eldest daughter was married to the King of Norway; and the third to the King of Hungary. Thus he engrafted his branches on almost all the royal houses of Europe—a proof that his alliance was deemed both honorary and important.

Russia at this time must be considered as a great Empire, extending from the Volga to the Lower Danube, and from the Black Sea to the Baltic. Yaroslaf was a prince whose genius was adapted to her circumstances. He raised her from a state of ignorance and obscurity to take her rank in the scale of nations. He was the first sovereign who gave any thing like a law of justice to Russian legislation; and the people began to emerge from that barbarism for which they were previously known; but the greatest blot still existing amongst them was that of slavery, which was carried to an extremity in Russia. Prisoners of war, and their posterity, were condemned to perpetual slavery. The murder of a slave was not visited with any penalty whatever. Insolvent debtors became slaves by law; and all persons who married slaves unconditionally, participated in their servitude. Yaroslaf did much for the extension of Christianity. He established a metropolitan at Kief, to prevent the inconvenience of attending the ecclesiastical head at Constantinople.

This prince was the first Russian Sovereign to define

the governing powers by a code of laws; and, although so rude in their construction, yet were they admirably adapted to the ignorance of the times. Crimes might be redeemed by purchase, to which a price was attached; they could even buy the life of an assassin; recourse was had to single combat. The loss of an arm, or a finger, might be paid for; but the loss of a beard, or a mustache, was three times their price. A sort of jury was empanelled of a dozen men, and the accused had five days to defend himself. Such laws prove a development of improvement at least in this still barbarous kingdom of Russia; and that the Court and people were progressing towards civilization. The earliest Russian code, we are told, was written in the year 1018. But we can scarcely conclude that there were no laws before this time, since a very considerable commerce had been established, and treaties concluded, of which these are the first we are acquainted with—Igor with Leo, and Oleg with Constantine. But it does not appear that there were any laws that were written. The Grand Princes thought only of conquering: their power depended upon their conquests, and the tributes which they gained from them. They dictated their commands; and the laws of commerce must have been self-adjusting, to meet the mutual convenience of the parties engaged in it. The code of Yaroslaf proves the despotism which dictated it. "Respect this ordinance; it must be the rule of your conduct —such is my will." To this prince Russia was much indebted for instruction and civilization. He caused the Scriptures to be translated into the Slavonian language, and with his own hand transcribed many copies of them. He established schools at Novogorod, and invited the Greek priests to become teachers of the people. It was

he who resolved that the Russian bishops should become independent of the patriarch of Byzantium; his piety was free from superstition and weakness as it was possible to be in that dark age. Yaroslaf, following the example of his father, divided his dominions amongst his five sons, thus opening the door to anarchy and bloodshed for Russia.

Isiaslof I., baptized by the name of Dimitri, succeeded to the principal princedoms of Russia, Kief and Novogorod, in 1054, left him by his father. He was deposed by Vsevolod, being attacked by whom, he took flight with his wife and children. His subjects betrayed him, when he applied for aid to the King of Poland, to the King of Hungary, and likewise to Pope Gregory IV., to whom he sent his son to bend the knee before the haughty pontiff, whose supremacy all the sovereigns of Europe at that time acknowledged. At this interesting period of her history, Russia became a fief of the Roman Catholic Church. Gregory wrote to the King of Poland to say, that from henceforth this state belonged to the Holy See; and issued a bull, directed to Isiaslof, to the following effect:—"Your son, being at Rome to adore the relics of the apostles, has declared to us, that he desired to receive from us the sovereignty of Russia as a present from the apostle, St. Peter. He has assured us that you agreed with him in this demand. We have thought it just to yield to his prayer, and to give him your states after your death on the part of St. Peter." Another interesting part of this period of Russian history, is the luxury which was introduced into the kingdom by the trade with the East. The presents made by the unfortunate king to those whose aid he implored, astonished the monarchs of Europe by their magnificence of gold and silver stuffs, and

other precious things, the produce of the East. Isiaslof, in his struggles with his brothers for the throne, was assisted with the aid of foreign soldiery; and Boleslus II., surnamed the bold King of Poland, at the head of a numerous and valiant army, marched into Russia, and restored this prince to the possession of his dominions. His reign was one unbroken series of dissensions; and, by the conflicts of divided governments, the empire was rapidly falling to pieces. The country was overrun by the Poles, the Tartars, and the Hungarians, who devastated the provinces. The people caught the flame of revolution; but the princes added to all the horrors of war, treachery and rapine. They usurped wherever they could each other's possessions; the barbarous supremacy of brute force alone prevailed; the Capital was convulsed with these intestine strifes; and it could scarcely be said that any government was established. The people had still a superstitious reverence for the reigning family, descended from Rurik, the founder of the Empire, from whose posterity the Russians always chose their princes in preference to any other race of men.

Isiaslof died in 1078, leaving two sons; but his brother Vsevolod succeeded him without opposition on the part of his nephews. This prince died in 1093, after an uninteresting reign of fifteen years, the principal feature of which was a terrible devastation of the plague, which ravaged the whole of Russia. Pope Urban II. sent a nuncio to his court to retain this Sovereign in vassalage to the Holy See; but he was not acknowledged by Vsevolod, who left the throne to his nephew, Oludinia Monomachus, in contravention of the order of succession he had himself laid down; but Vladimir set the noble example of not disturbing it for his personal aggrandize-

ment, although the people urged him to accept it. This great prince, who is so distinguished in the annals of his country, said that he would not violate the order of succession, and that of right it belonged to his cousin, Sviastopolk. "His father," said he, "was my father's senior; and I wish to preserve Russia from the horrors of a civil war." Sviastopolk II. succeeded to the throne in 1093, as the eldest branch of the house of Rurik. During this reign of twenty years, Russia was torn by intestine commotions and civil wars by the rebellious brothers of the prince, to whom certain shares of territory had been assigned. The country was laid open to bands of robbers called in by the contending chiefs, who violated all their oaths to the Sovereign Prince. The penalty of death did not exist at this time; it had been abolished by Vladimir I., on embracing Christianity. The Tartar invasion of Russia is an important epoch in the history of the country, since it had so much influence on its future destinies.

Genghis Khan, their great leader, was a barbarian, having command at first over shepherds only, who wandered over the vast deserts to find the means of subsistence. Like their flocks, they were compelled to be migratory, and, in order to unite them in camps, it was necessary to pursue continual conquests; hence war was declared against all the world, and when they had devastated Asia they came into Europe. The circumstance of their pastoral habits prevented their becoming attached to any country, which could not fail to forward the vast designs of Genghis Khan. Their mode of life rendered them fit to wage perpetual war. They were always ready for action; their battalions were soon put in motion; their whole multitude was an army thirsting for plunder; and

it was only by continued conquests that their leader could keep them united—that he could satiate their desires, and thereby rivet his influence over them as with a chain of adamant. His armies were almost numberless —600,000 warriors is no exaggeration of their ordinary force. They carried huge scimitars, and pikes with hooks; and they forced from their bows long steeled arrows, carrying dreadful destruction. They had also battering rams, with which, in one day, they overthrew the strong walls of Kief. The Tartars were always in the saddle, and possessed the provinces which produced the finest horses; they were the best riders in the world. These nomadic hordes pushed their conquests as far as into Hungary, and beyond Poland. Their first expedition in 1221, shows with what a prudent policy they conducted the war, although with all the fury of barbarism; that they were subtle and patient, although implacable and furious in their warfare. It is not to be wondered at that they succeeded in their general conquest of Russia—a country so torn, in pieces by the strifes of the contending princes.

The Tartars, in their progress, destroyed every thing; such was their custom. Why should they spare cities when pasturage was all they required? The cities might rebel against them, but solitude ensured their safety. The weakening of the feudal tie in Russia facilitated their conquests—their chiefs received the homage and appeals of every prince—they became lords-paramount; no one could assume the government of a state that had not journeyed to the great horde to receive the investiture of the khan. Several princes were summoned by them to the horde, tried, and executed. The Tartars often ravaged without conquering—the tribute was for the

khan, the plunder for the horde. This thirst for prey must be satisfied; it was the only thing which bound together the scattered tribes—all their interests being directed to one object. In vain did Sviastopolk and his brothers endeavour to stem the torrent of these barbarous hordes, by whom they were put to flight; he was then deserted by his own people, who accused him of treachery to the State. They drove him from his palace, and he escaped into Poland; they delivered Uselas, his brother, from prison, and declared him Grand Duke.

Then ensued a dreadful civil war, in which the deposed sovereign was successful, he returned from Poland, upset the usurper, and was again seated on the throne. The inhabitants of Kief, who had been the most opposed to him, he treated with the greatest cruelty, and numbers of them were, by his orders, put to death; many had their eyes cut out, and the most part were banished from the city. The Russian history of this period teems with barbarous acts, unknown to the later periods of civilization—in the way power was attained, maintained, and strengthened. Vladimir Monomachus was again appealed to for succour and advice, seemingly the only prince in whom the people had confidence. They urged him to accept the throne, which he once more refused.

Sviastopolk died in 1113, leaving the throne to his cousin, Vladimir II., whose accession was hailed with joy by the people. He soon succeeded in restoring tranquillity to his distracted country; and, amongst other things, he expelled the Jews from the city of Kief, although still granting them protection. He was a wise prince. He established the governments of the different princes under one head, and brought them into complete subjection to the Sovereign Prince. His reign, which

lasted only thirteen years, was not marked with any brilliant exploits. A general pacific disposition marked the character of this prince; his mind was worthy of the noblest station. Vladimir was unanimously chosen, by a general assembly of the citizens of Kief, to heal the distractions of Russia, occasioned by the wars of the contending princes for so many years. He for a long time refused the proffered dignity, but they at length compelled him to yield. This does not prove the right of the people to elect their sovereign prince, nor did Vladimir consider his election valid. He respected the order of succession, and had previously transmitted the sceptre to his cousin, Sviastopolk—"his father said he was the senior of mine, he reigned first in this capital; I wish to preserve Russia from the horrors of a civil war." On his accession, order was quickly restored. The Jews were expelled from the whole of the Russian territory. Vladimir protected their retreat, and caused their exile to be respected, and the civil wars were succeeded by useful wars against the enemies of his country. To perpetuate his great name, he left a death-bed admonition to his children, full of moral principles, and very remarkable for the age in which he lived. Amongst other clauses were the following—"Be fathers to the orphans—be yourselves judges for the widows—violate not the oath which you have sworn on the cross—bear in mind that a man ought to be always employed, and fly from drunkenness and debauchery—endeavour constantly to obtain knowledge—never let the sun find you in bed—never abandon the poor and the widow to the oppressions of the powerful! O, my children! fear neither death nor wild beasts; trust in Providence; it surpasses all human precautions," &c. The Greek emperor testified his high

respect and esteem for Vladimir, by sending him a golden tiara of Greek workmanship, set with gems; a sceptre of gold, an imperial mound, and other costly articles. This prince's government was established on a basis of freedom unknown before in Russia. The Nobles and the Clergy were called to the deliberation of state affairs, and a sort of Parliament was convened, in which they were freely discussed. The citizens also formed a part of the assembly, in whom was vested the right to assemble together to deliberate amongst themselves on important matters; nor had the Sovereign nor the Boyars the right to raise troops without the consent of the people. This sovereign died in 1126, leaving his country at peace both at home and abroad. But the death of Vladimir was the signal for the renewal of those outrages which had so prevailed, during the previous reign, between the descendants of Oleg and those of Vladimir, who contended for the supreme power. During these contests, the throne was seized and vacated by eleven princes, each holding the sceptre until a stronger than he wrested it from him; foreign aid was called in by the rival powers—the Hungarians and others; the ancient city of Kief was nearly destroyed, and the streets were flooded with blood. At length Meteslof, the eldest son of Vladimir, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne in 1126. He reigned only six years, during which time great calamities were visited upon Russia. Amongst others, the city of Novogorod suffered from furious storms, vast inundations washed out of the earth all the growing crops, and the inhabitants groaned under the most grievous famine. In their distress, they were driven to grind the barks of trees into a sort of flour, and drew food from the carcases of dead animals. The streets were choked with the decaying bodies

of the poor people. The noxious vapours exhaling from them spread a deadly contagion all around, from their not being able to inter the numerous dead. This prince died in 1132, and was succeeded by his brother, Yarapolk, who had been taken prisoner and sent to Poland as a captive to King Boleslus. He was rescued by his subjects by stratagem. This prince subdued his enemies; but domestic feuds embroiled his career, and he died in the midst of them, after a reign of seven years only, much lamented; even during this short period, he merited to be called the father of his people.

Vsevold II. mounted the throne in 1139, to the prejudice of the son of the last sovereign, who soon gave way to him. He was one of the elder branches of the Rurik family. Some attempts to conquer Poland, and to subdue the revolutionary spirit of the Novogorodians, were the most prominent features of this reign, which terminated in 1145. His brother, Igor II., succeeded him, and held the sovereign power for six weeks only; his own tyranny and the hate of his subjects hurled him from the throne. He made way for Isiaslof II., who sent the deposed sovereign to a dungeon. He was subsequently permitted to enter a monastery as a monk, from whence he was dragged to a cruel death by the furious populace, unjustly incensed against him, even from the altar at which he was celebrating mass. His body was trailed along the streets, and at length abandoned in the market-place. But these cruelties are not to be attributed to the reigning prince, who, it is said, was much touched with the tragedy. The reverse of fortune came upon Isiaslof likewise, for he was deposed by Iouri I. in 1154; but he found an asylum with his wife and family in Volodomir, a possession which he had granted to

his brother Iouri, who at the age of sixty-three had at length succeeded in the object of his ambition, having waded through seas of blood to the sovereign power.

It was during this reign that the Tartars again invaded Russia under their great leader, Genghis Khan, who advanced with 100,000 men to the banks of the Don. They then marched against Varonej, afterwards to Kerm, which was taken after an obstinate siege of sixteen days, and from thence to Moscow, which was likewise taken. Russia was at the same time convulsed with foreign invasion and intestine wars. The atrocities committed by the Tartars are almost unparalleled in history. The people fled, terrified at their approach; and, when imploring for mercy, were immediately massacred. The towns and villages were sacked, and then rased to the ground. The unfortunate Iouri, far from arming against them, said that it was a judgment from heaven which could not be resisted. They advanced to the city of Volodomir, where the Grand Prince then was engaged in the celebration of a marriage feast, having taken no precautions to stem the coming torrent of the enemy. They came upon the devoted city like a flood; they rushed in, and with merciless ferocity slew every one they met, without distinction of age or sex; they set the city on fire in several places. Those who escaped the fire were put to the sword, and the Tartars revelled amidst the spoils, while the flames were ascending to the skies. They set fire to the church where the princess and her suite had taken refuge, and they all perished. The unfortunate Iouri, who had fled from Volodomir, was driven to despair by the intelligence of the fate of the city; but the death of his wife and children stimulated him to a desperate courage. He collected the scattered troops,

but they were few in number compared to the Tartars, and performed prodigies of valour; but nothing could avail against the powerful enemy, and he fell covered with wounds, and his followers were destroyed to a man.

The invaders, glutted with blood, rapidly retired from the Russian territory, after having destroyed fourteen cities of the largest class, besides numberless inferior towns and villages, and put to death all the inhabitants. Iouri's most deplorable reign was rendered memorable by this horrible Tartar invasion, of which almost all the subsequent history of Russia bears traces. This prince is esteemed by the Russians as belonging to the ranks of their greatest sovereigns, although craft seems to have been his principal talent, which, in ignorant times, was of no small importance. The cities which Iouri built are monuments to perpetuate his reign. Amongst others, he laid the foundations of Moscow, to which he gave the name of the river Moskwa. Iouri divided the succession of his states amongst his sons, according to ancient usage, which always produced those strifes and convulsions in Russia so destructive to its prosperity. Andrew, the Prince of Souzdal, was one of the contending princes. He succeeded in obtaining the sovereign power, from which his brother, Isiaslof, was deposed. These struggles lasted for some time. He attracted the people from the old capital of Kief to his new city of Volodomir, by taking from it a favourite image of the Virgin Mary, and transferring it to a magnificent church in the new city which he had built for that purpose, when Kief declined and fell away in her commerce, which had been attracted to it by its favourable situation on the banks of the Borysthenes, by which river the Russians in former times, braving the cataracts, had descended to Constantinople, which ad-

vantage had induced the Grand Princes to fix on Kief for their residence; but Andrew, who for his various successes was chosen by the people for their sovereign, succeeded in attracting them to Volodomir. He occupied himself exclusively for the benefit of his subjects, and exiled three of his turbulent brothers, who, with their mother, retired to Constantinople. Russia, although at this time torn by domestic feuds, was not free from foreign wars; and Andrew displayed that military genius which had so distinguished some of his predecessors. This prince was likewise in his turn deposed and murdered. He had retired to his new city, where his room was entered by assassins employed by Joaikhim, one of the rival princes. They threw themselves upon him, covered him with wounds, and left him for dead; but the miserable Andrew still breathed. They heard his groans, and returned to complete the horrid deed of assassination, leaving the body close to the palace exposed for two days to the dogs and to the ravens. In the civil wars among barbarians it is difficult to form a correct judgment as to the respective merits of their strife; but his death was unrevenged by his subjects. Whatever the government of his kingdom might have been, it is certain that it became a prey to anarchy, and himself to the assassin's knife. These civil wars lasted for some time, during which no regular order of succession was established until 1174, when Mikhail I. succeeded to the sovereign power of Russia, whose short reign of two years only deserves no notice.

Vsevolod III., as the eldest branch of the reigning family, succeeded to the throne of Russia in 1176, to the prejudice of Gleb, the son of Mikhail, but he could not maintain even any show of authority; putting out the eyes of rival princes was now a common practice, borrowed

from the East. The reign of this prince was long and stormy, principally distinguished by Russia becoming a prey to the ruthless invaders of the Mongols or Tartars who invaded the country. These ravagers of the earth had, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, already overrun the greater part of Asia, and, finding Russia without a government, she became an easy prey to these fierce tribes, who overwhelmed it with the tide of destruction.

The unhappy people, pressed by the merciless Tartars, threw themselves for safety into their churches, fondly believing that the sacred roof would shelter them from their fury. They were, however, pursued even to the foot of the altar, and were there sacrificed with the greatest barbarity. The Russian nobles fled to the cloisters, hoping to find shelter in sanctuary. The clergy had at this time attained to great power; one of them, Rurik, a prince of the blood, pulled off his monastic order, and did battle for the sovereign power. Theodor, Bishop of Kostoff, showed himself a monster of cruelty, and terminated his crimes by being thrown into the river with a stone about his neck. Russia was given up to superstition; the whole country was subdivided into dotations for the Church, which sought to monopolize all her riches. Magnificent temples were built, and richly endowed with villages and forests for their support; princes clothed themselves with the monastic order, and took upon themselves the office of priests, and the Church consequently became attractive to the highest personages; even the Grand Dukes assumed the coif when they found themselves approaching their end. The influence of the Church then grew to an enormous height: every man at his death bequeathed it a legacy according to his means; and, as treasures from all

quarters flowed into her lap, the monks were enabled not only to ornament their chapels in the most costly way, but to increase their landed possessions to a vast extent. All those who could purchase sanctuary, or endow a new church, availed themselves of so tempting a mode of acquiring honour and renown. But the priests became intolerant, cruel, and superstitious; the people groaned under their oppression, cruelties, and avarice, to extort from them contributions to holy church. It was amongst such a people that the Tartars made their first invasion, but they soon returned with an immense booty; nor were they the only invaders, since the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Lithouanians poured in upon the distracted country.

Vsevolod died in 1212, having divided his States amongst his five sons, each of whom at his death took possession of his princedom; but they immediately began those barbarous strifes which have so desolated Russia, which was now distracted not only by the Tartar invasion, but by the country being divided and left to the five sons of the late Sovereign Prince, who, being dissatisfied with their portions, began to make war upon each other. Iouri, the eldest, was deposed by Constantine, and he dying soon after, Iouri again assumed the sovereign power, when it was disputed by Georges, another of the princes, with various successes on both sides. It will be unnecessary to trace these civil conflicts, which lasted for six years; but they led to the re-establishment of Iouri on the throne in 1218, at which time the Tartar tribes once more invaded Russia. On their arrival, they sent ambassadors professing their friendship, and courting the alliance of the Russians; but they were taken to be spies upon the Russian camp, which was then established on the banks of the Borys-

thenes, where they had a large army assembled. The Russians had the temerity to massacre these ambassadors. The Tartars sent deputies to reproach them for this atrocious deed: "You are thirsting for our blood," said their new deputies, "you have assassinated our ambassadors, you who do not know us—you to whom we have done no evil. But God shall be judge betwixt us." Their Prince, Genghis Khan, led them on to victory. The Russians having advanced incautiously beyond their camp to brave the enemy, and finding the country deserted, were drawn into the snare laid for them. Their princes were massacred, and the Tartars entered Russia without resistance. The people came to meet them, carrying crosses and images in token of peace; but the furious Tartars fell upon them, and killed them without mercy. In the district of Kief alone, they are said to have killed more than 60,000 people, and then they returned laden with booty. Soon after this Tartar invasion, internal commotions again agitated the unfortunate country. A dreadful famine and great mortality ensued, occasioned by the blighting seasons—but further calamities fell upon Russia.

Iouri was succeeded by Yaroslaf II., in 1238. The new sovereign appeared full of courage and activity to repair, as far as possible, the evils of his wretched country, which had accumulated upon it during former reigns. He took possession of the ruins of Volodomir, cleared it of the dead bodies, recalled its scattered inhabitants, and endeavoured to establish some order out of the anarchy of his states.

The King of Sweden, taking advantage of the distracted state of the country, sent a fleet, consisting of Swedes, Norwegians, and Finns, to penetrate even to the

mouth of the Neva, when a hero appeared in Russia, of whom their historians are so proud—the young Prince Alexander of Novogorod, who was endowed by nature with a superior genius, and an indomitable courage. He had a fine commanding person, with an arm like that of Samson. His appearance inspired the people with sentiments of love and veneration. His voice, like the sound of a trumpet, might be heard in the midst of the public assemblies. This Swedish invasion aroused all the ire of the young prince, which brought him out of obscurity into almost the mid-day glare of popularity and glory. He attacked the Swedes most gallantly, and obtained a complete victory over them on the left bank of the river Neva, near the place where the waters fall into the gulf of Finland; and they were obliged to accept a dishonourable peace. Here he received the name of Alexander Nevski, according to the ancient usage of Rome, of the hero being named after the place of their victory. The young prince likewise distinguished himself in his attack upon the Lithouanians, who defied the power of Yaroslaf. He put them to flight with great loss, and attached some of the prisoners to the tails of his horses. Russia was still tributary to the Tartars. The people dared not resist them; and Yaroslaf sought to soften their yoke by sending them embassies with presents. But this only served to increase their arrogance. The Grand Prince went himself to their camp, and was received with great distinction by Octai Khan, who conferred upon him the principality of Kief, from which his brother, Mikhail, had taken flight. The other princes followed the example of Yaroslaf. Then all the provinces equally rendered homage to the Tartar chief; and Russia became completely subjected to him. The

Grand Prince made one more journey to the Tartar camp. He had been vilified by the calumnies of one of his own nobles, and went to justify himself before the supreme arbitrator of Russia. Having succeeded in so doing, he obtained permission to return to his principality; and whilst on his way he died on the road, as was strongly suspected, from poison. It was said that the mother of the Tartar Khan had presented him with some meat in which poison had been introduced; but this story was discredited, since the Tartars, so strong in power, could have no occasion to resort to such means of getting rid of their enemies. This unfortunate prince was much regretted by his subjects. He had displayed considerable energy and prudence in greatly alleviating the disasters of his country; and, by his tact and genius, he had succeeded in gaining the esteem of the Tartar chief, which was of immense importance when he governed the destinies of Russia.

At this time, almost all Europe trembled at the Mongol power. We have an interesting account of these people from the travels of Carpin; a monk sent from Pope Innocent IV. to enter into negotiation with the terrible Khan, and sought to avert his wrath, which threatened the desolation of Europe. He arrived at the Tartar camp in Russia in 1246, and gave a long report of his interview with the great Khan, whose name almost made Europe tremble, of which he gives the following description—"The first place where I met the Mongols was at a short distance from Kief, named, 'The Khan's bourg.' They immediately surrounded us; inquired our motives for travelling, and where we were going. I replied that we were sent by the father and sovereign of all the Christians, who, never having offended the

Tartars, had learned with the greatest astonishment, that Hungary and Poland, inhabited by his subjects, were ravaged by the armies of the khan, and that, desirous of peace, the Pope, by his letters, exhorted him to embrace the Christian religion. The Mongols, who were contented with some presents, furnished us with guides to conduct us to the horde of Bati Khan, the second in command, who had placed his camp on the banks of the Volga with an army amounting to 600,000 men. We were conducted to his tent on Friday in the holy week. Bati was seated on his throne, with one of his wives—his brothers, his children, and several Tartar warriors, seated on benches, the rest of the assembly being on the ground—the men on the right and the women on the left. This tent, made up of fine linen, had formerly belonged to the King of Hungary; and no one dared to penetrate into the interior, except the family of the khan, without special permission.

"Bati read, with much attention, the Pope's letters, which were translated in the Arab, Tartar, and Sclavonian languages. He received us with affability, but he generally inspires terror. He was renowned for his cruelty in war, and for his cunning and experience: He ordered us to the great khan, Gaieck, and we were kept a whole month in front of a tumultuous camp. This chief was encamped in a magnificent tent, called the 'golden horde,' ornamented within and without with the richest stuffs. The columns which sustained it were ornamented with gold.* We were at length admitted to audience with some other ambassadors, of whom the

* This tent was a present made by the Emperor of China to Genghis Khan, the great Tartar chief. Their empire of the Kaptchak was also called the "golden horn" as a distinction, signifying "the residence of the Khan."

secretary pronounced the names; but very few persons were admitted into the khan's tent. The presents which were made him, consisted of stuffs of gold, girdles, furs, saddles, camels, and mules richly harnessed, with an immense number of presents, ornamented with precious stones. At some distance from the tents were five hundred chariots, laden with these precious offerings to the vanity and power of Gaieck, the great Tartar Khan. We were the only ones who had nothing to offer.

"Gaieck determined on making war. He therefore would not enter into any negotiation, and we remained at his camp nearly a month, idle, and overwhelmed with ennui, without provisions sufficient to sustain us; but we were happily supplied by a Russian jeweller, who, having made a throne of ivory for the khan, was in high favour. We were at length charged with letters from the khan, composed by his secretary in Arabic, which I translated into Latin. He proposed to send a Monghol ambassador with us to the Pope, which I declined, lest they should witness the dissensions which existed amongst the Christian princes. We took leave of Gaieck and his mother, who presented us with a pelisse of fox-skin and red cloth, and we arrived at the camp of Bati, who furnished us with a passport, by which we happily reached Kief. The two Russian princes, Daniel and Vassili, gave us a very gracious reception in their dominions. They convoked the abbots, the bishops, and the most illustrious men, and declared publicly that they were resolved to acknowledge the holy father as the head of their church. The Tartar khan took the title of 'Prince of the Universe,' to which he added—'God reigns in heaven, and I upon earth!' When dismissing the ambassador of France, he sent a letter to his master,

concluding in the following terms—'In the name of the all-powerful God, I order you, King Louis, to obey me, and to declare to me solemnly your choice, for peace or war. What Heaven decrees shall be accomplished! When the universe has recognised me for her sovereign, we shall see the earth enjoying a happy tranquillity. Then the happy people will see what we can do for them; whereas, if you dare to despise the Divine orders, and to say that your country is distant—that your mountians are inaccessible—that your seas are deep, and that you fear not my power—then, the Most High, rendering easy what might appear impossible, will prove to you what we are in a condition to do.'"

We have now traced the history of the sovereigns of Russia during twenty-four reigns, and over a period of four centuries, when the progress of man from the savage state to comparative civilization has been developed. We have seen Pagan idolatry superseded by Christianity; and a semblance of law creating order out of anarchy, giving stability and protection to the infant empire of Russia. These laws it is interesting to trace, since they portray the character of the people to whom they are adapted; and here we see slavery one of the leading features of their barbarism. Perpetual slavery, extending to their posterity, was the lot of all prisoners of war, and the debtor became a slave, redeemable by purchase; for the murder of a slave, all that was required was, that the value should be paid to the owner if he had been killed without a sufficient cause. The life of a female slave was only valued at half the price of that of a man, which proves that, in this age, strength was, above all other things, respected. The murder of a freeman might be compromised by the

murderer paying into the treasury forty grivas. If a noble or a prince, double that sum was required. None but the relations of a man had a right to avenge his death. Prices for the loss of limbs were required; and even for plucking out a part of the beard. A scale of fines seems to have been imposed for almost all offences, to prevent that waste of human life which, amongst an uncivilized people, follows the wild fury of revenge. There were distinctions of rank in those days, to form the grand link of the community. The nobles were descended from the Varangian and Slavonian warriors of Rurik. They shared the conquests of their princes; and became their counsellors as well as their military leaders. There was also a law of inheritance. The prince was the heir of all freemen who died without issue; but when property became secured to the right successor, a nobility by degrees sprang up, exclusively possessed of property. We do not find any definite law of taxation. Fines were imposed by the Grand Prince for offences; he received tribute from his estates, which was paid in kind, since the use of money was very little known, which was only partially introduced by the commerce of Cherson and Byzantium. The great tax was military service—when the noble was bound to join the prince, armed, mounted, and attended with numerous vassals; just that feudal sort of service which prevailed in almost all the countries of Europe in the early ages. Justice was administered; and even jurors were empanelled to decide on all cases brought before them; there were even travelling judges to adjudicate in the provinces. Laws were formed for the protection of commerce, which had reference principally to Novogorod, and other mercantile cities; the internal trade of the country was con-

ducted by barter, devoid of any system but the will and convenience of those engaged in it. In their wars, the want of a system of tactics, and the rude weapons which were used, gave all the advantage to physical strength: thus the powers of the body had a preference to the influence of the mind.

To the introduction of Christianity must be attributed all the great actions which have been conspicuous in those "Sovereigns of Russia." It assuaged their violence, refined their manners, and sometimes arrested their guilty hands; and, although we cannot trace any high state of religious attainment, yet its soothing influence was felt, and the effects of it were visible. Russia had now an established dynasty, a Christian faith, and a recognised government; and was as fast advancing towards civilization as was the rest of Europe at this period.

The invasion of the Tartars has been alluded to—for more than two centuries, they held the country in the direst vassalage. Their conquests are unparalleled in the history of the world. Influenced by fiery passions, ignorant, and bound to risk their lives in the service of their leaders under pain of death, they became the most formidable warriors that Asia or Europe had ever seen, to which enthusiasm, inspired by victory, added another cause of their success.

CHAPTER II.

Sviastopolk III.—Andrew II.—Alexander I. visits the Tartar Chief—is confirmed by him in the Government of Kief—his short Reign—much lamented by his Subjects—his Character, Death, and Canonization—Russian Improvements and Civilization—Yaroslaf III.—Vassili I.—Dimitri I.—Andrew III.—Mikhail II. cruelly Murdered by his brother Georges—took the Title of Iouri III.—Alexander II.—The Tartars massacred by the Russians—Horrible Retaliations—Ivan I.—A dreadful Plague desolates Russia, which carries off the Grand Prince—Ivan II.—Dimitri III.—Dimitri IV.—Defeats the Tartars and destroys their Camp—the Tartars' Vengeance upon them—Good Government of the Prince—Respected by his Subjects—Moscow much improved by him—Vassili II.—Tamerlane enters Russia—the Invaders repelled—Horrible Famine—Money first introduced into Russia—Death of the Prince—Vassili III.—Deposed by his Uncle—Re-established by the Tartar Chief—Ingratitude of Vassili—his Eyes put out—Enters a Monastery—Ceremony of the Reception of a Foreign Ambassador.

YAROSLAF was succeeded by Sviastopolk III., and was deposed by Mikhail, his nephew, who lost his life in an expedition against the Lithouanians, after a reign of a few months only, when Sviastopolk resumed the throne, and he was again deposed by another nephew, Andrew II. Of these short intervals we find no records worthy the notice of the historian. The country was now so completely subdued by the Tartars, that the contending Princes were obliged to repair to the "Golden Horde," to establish their claims, or to maintain their power.

Andrew took the oath of fidelity to the Khan on his knees, for which he was rewarded with the government of Vladimir; but, dying soon after, there remains nothing worthy to record of this short reign. Alexander Nevski was invited by Bati Khan to come to headquarters. He had heard much of the fame of the young Prince, and was desirous to confer upon him the sovereign rights of his father; but the Tartars were at this time most grievously pressing upon Russia. They imposed taxes on the people, and sent their own Tartar collectors, who were not only vigilant, but in some instances so urgent, that the Russians, provoked by the insolence of their oppressors, would often lay violent hands upon them. They imposed the most abject submission on the Russians —such as prostrating themselves at the feet of their ambassadors, presenting them with milk to drink, &c. They had now become permanent residents in Russia— the country was quite in their power, and the reigning Princes were only their vassals.

The effect of those journeys, which it took a whole year to accomplish, was to leave the principalities without any Russian chiefs, and under the authority of the Tartar Baskasks. The Khans allowed several rivals to lay claim, and sometimes retained them for two years at the Horde, preventing, at the same time, the settling any order of succession; thus the competitors, by costly presents to the Khan, ruined each other, and more completely fixed his supremacy over them. Nor were accusers wanting amongst their rivals to make them dread the terrible vengeance of the Khans, whose power was dreaded at the time that their protection was courted.

Alexander loved his country; he did not like to ex-

pose her to new disasters by refusing to obey the commands of Bati, and he followed his brother, Andrew, to the Tartar camp, where the hero of the Neva was well received. At length he returned from his long and terrible journey, and Alexander was rewarded with the whole of southern Russia, including Kief: this reign commenced in 1254. Some deputies from Rome were sent to him by Pope Innocent, to endeavour to prevail upon him to adopt the Christian faith, which Carpin, his ambassador, had represented to him the young Prince had promised to do; but the deputies failed in their mission. Alexander was much beloved by his subjects. The prince being attacked with a dangerous disease, they almost wearied Heaven with their prayers for his recovery, and they were answered by his complete restoration to health. The reign of Alexander was short—only ten years; but very few of the Grand Princes of Russia had more completely gained the affections of his subjects. He died on the 14th November, 1263. He was taken ill on the road to Nigni-Novogorod, when he retired to a monastery; and here he took the religious vows and habit of a monk under the name of Alexis. He died at the age of eighty-four years.

On the news of his death, the utmost consternation spread itself amongst all classes of the people. "We are going to perish," was their expression. His body was transported to Volodomir, where, notwithstanding the rigours of the season, thousands of people came to bathe it with their tears. The regret and sincere sorrow which his loss occasioned to Russia, had never been equalled by the death of any of their Sovereign Princes. Alexander was one of the greatest heroes in Russian history up to this period, and of whom they are so proud. He

was a wise statesman and a brave soldier. His victories were brilliant and complete. His government was distinguished by prudence and foresight. He enlarged the boundaries of his empire. He inspired his armies with fresh courage. He rebuilt several cities destroyed by the Tartars, and founded others in good situations. Russia under his sway might have redeemed her fallen fortunes, had not the feuds of the contending Princes paralyzed his efforts, and rendered them useless by the conflicts amongst themselves. His fame was so universal, that his death was made the display of superstitious feelings.

His decease in the monastery was said to have been notified to the patriarch by a voice from heaven; and, as the body lay in the coffin, the dead man opened one of his hands as the prayer of absolution was spoken by the officiating priest. Those miracles obtained for Alexander a niche amongst the Russian saints, and he was duly canonized. An order of knighthood was instituted in his name, which now ranks amongst its members some of the monarchs of Europe. Peter the Great founded a monastery near the place where he conquered the Swedes on the banks of the Neva, to which his remains were transported, and deposited in a silver sarcophagus of immense value. The Empress Elizabeth raised a massive silver monument to his memory at the altar, on which are inscribed the leading events of his stormy life, and of his monastic latter end. Russia, besides having progressed in commercial enterprise, had made some considerable advance in military order and discipline. The army was divided into regiments of infantry and cavalry, as lancers and archers; and at the end of every campaign, which generally terminated in

the winter, the Prince took the arms of the soldiers, and stored them up for future service. The inhabitants of the great towns were obliged to furnish horses for the cavalry. Merchant ships arrived from Constantinople to Kief laden with the different products of the East, which were exchanged for rich furs and other Russian produce. Merchants of all nations then resided at the capital, including Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Germans, and Venetians. These could not fail to improve the people amongst whom they dwelt—of expanding their minds, and refining their manners.

The precious metals found their way into the country principally from Venice, the sequin, or ducat, having been in general circulation. The fine arts were cultivated; the cathedral church of "Our Lady" at Souzdel was a very magnificent temple, built and decorated by foreign artists. The Greek painters who had ornamented the convent of Kief, were employed in painting pictures on parchments from the holy writings, the colours of which were brilliant and fresh after six or seven hundred years. Even the art of medicine was cultivated, principally from Alexandria. The arts and sciences made progress with religious cultivation, the clergy of which were the most enlightened class in Russia. To the metropolitan of Kief, and to the archbishop of Novogorod, some of the Grand Princes referred all judicial affairs; to them were referred likewise the government of the priests; and by them were inflicted all spiritual chastisements;—devotion was propagated by them; they promoted the building of churches by the rich nobles and merchants, or convents wherein to bury themselves from the vanities of the world.

Alexander was succeeded, in 1264, by his son, Yaro-

slaf, who was received by the Novogorodians on very hard terms, which shows that the genius of this government was more republican than monarchial; not only that he should undertake no wars without their consent, but they even prescribed to him the time that he might absent himself for the amusement of the chase. His reign was very short, being eight years only. It was subjected to the dreadful war of brother against brother, commonly called "Civil Strife." Vassili drove him from his capital, when he had recourse to the Tartar Khan, Mongou Timour, to whom he paid the homage of a slave, and by whom he was permitted to return to his good city of Novogorod. On the way, however, he was arrested by death, when he was succeeded, in the year 1272, by the same brother, Vassili the First, who was intrigued against by his nephew, Dimitri; but, being supported by the power of the Tartar Khan, Mongou Timour, Vassili was re-established in his new government, in which he reigned only four years, and died in 1276. His nephew, Dimitri I., the eldest son of Alexander Nevsky, was then declared Sovereign Prince, who was plotted against by his brother Andrew, supported by the Tartars, and, after two years' warfare, a peace was concluded between them, which continued for some time; but, solicited again by Andrew, the Tartars made incursions into the country, and devastated numerous towns and villages. The Sovereign Prince fled from his capital, and for some time no government but that of the invaders was in force, of which the brothers were at length so weary, that once more they entered into fellowship, soon after which Dimitri died, leaving to Andrew III. quiet possession of the phantom throne, in the year 1294. This Prince was ambitious, faithless, and per-

fidious, even to his oath; always in stormy life, plotting, contriving, and swearing to engagements, which he would break the first convenient moment. He died on returning from an expedition against his brother, Daniel, to deprive him of his principality of Moscow, in the year 1304.

Mikhail II., nephew of Alexander Nevski, succeeded him. After eight months' struggle with contending claimants, he was established by the Tartar power, against which there was no appeal, Tokhtagou, Khan of Kaptchak, being the then Tartar chief. One interesting portion of their history is, that the successor to this Tartar Khan, Usbek, introduced Mahomedanism generally amongst these people; and his memory was so respected by them, that he became the founder of the tribe of the "Usbeks," who now inhabit a part of the Caucasus; but this young proselyte of the false Prophet was by no means illiberal towards the Christians. He paid particular attention to the metropolitan of the Russian Church, and even permitted his sister, Kaptchana, to marry Georges, the Prince of Moscow, previously to which she was baptized, and received the name of Ayafpa.

Mikhail was intrigued against by Georges, the Prince of Moscow, and many were the defeats and successes on both sides; but the former procured him to be condemned to death by Usbek, the Tartar chief, on the charge of having ordered his sister to be poisoned—the wife of Georges. The execution was for some time delayed, as even Usbek felt compunction at the unjust sentence; but one of the chiefs, Kavgadi, impelled by Georges, urged its fulfilment, and the unfortunate Mikhail suffered all the horrors of protracted cruelties, when he expired in his forty-sixth year, in 1319, a wretched

victim to the deadly hate and frenzied ambition of his brother, Georges, who succeeded to the vacant throne of Russia. He kept the family of the unfortunate Mikhail for a long time ignorant of his death, whose second son, Alexander, at length obtained the body of his father. This Prince took the title of Iouri III. He was driven from his throne, after a very short reign, by Dimitri, son of the unfortunate Mikhail, who received from the Khan a Tartar army to put him in possession of his new sovereignty, and he killed his uncle in revenge for the death of his father. Iouri was himself condemned to death by Usbek, at the solicitation of the Russian Princes, for having thus revenged his father; such barbarities were encouraged by the Tartar chief, to whom all appealed, and by whom all were sacrificed. Alexander succeeded his brother by letters from the Tartar Khan, whose interest he was most assiduous in cultivating The Khan sent his ambassador, Steckl Khan of the same tribe, to Twer with a numerous suite, to instal Alexander in his new government, who rendered him the greatest honours, and lodged him in his father's palace. But he soon discovered that the Tartars had some other design in this visit, which was no less than to assassinate him, with the princes and chiefs of the kingdom there assembled, and thus to engross the entire dominion of Russia.

Burning with vengeance, Alexander moved the inhabitants to the utmost point of fury, and distributed arms amongst them. At the fête of the Assumption, before sunrise, they commenced their attack upon the Tartars, who flew out of their houses, and fought with the fury of despair; but the inhabitants, who were much more numerous, nearly massacred the whole of them, the

remainder flying for shelter into the pálace, Alexander set it on fire, and thus perished the ambassador and all his followers. Usbek, their prince, was not long in inflicting vengeance on Alexander, and had no difficulty to find Russian Princes to march upon Twer, where the Tartars put all to the fire and sword. Alexander fled, and Ivan, the son of Daniël, went to the Tartar chief, who accepted with ferocious joy his offer of services, hoping thereby to avenge himself for the massacres of his tribe. Ivan placed himself at the head of the Tartars, conducted them to Twer, and killed one-half of the inhabi tants, the rest being sent into slavery. As the province of Novogorod was ravaged by his orders—for which services Ivan was installed Sovereign Prince of Volodomir, Moscow, and Novogorod, in 1328—the Prince took up his residence at Moscow, which had been much enlarged and embellished by his father; it became, from henceforth, the capital of Russia, and the metropolitan seat of the Church government. Ivan I. surrounded it with a wall of wood, filled in with earth and stones. It had been formerly thus fortified by Iouri, its founder, but it was destroyed by its numerous invaders. Ivan procured the excommunication of the Church against the unfortunate Alexander—noticeable only as showing the influence of the priests over an ignorant people. At length he obtained sentence of death upon him from Usbek, the arbiter of all the Russian Princes, which the hero met in the most intrepid manner, offering his head to the block before it had been required of him, and his son Pheodor was likewise executed at the same time; both of them were sacrificed to the hatred of Ivan, under whose reign a new period of the fortunes of Russia commenced.

About this time, we hear of the introduction of the Boyars into Russia, although, as to their proper origin, no trace of them is to be found. In the Russ language Boyar signifies a gentleman, a person of distinction, the master of a family. The Boyarina signifies his spouse, to whom the Russian peasants used to look up with great respect. It is likely that they were first introduced by persons of respectable birth from other countries, who filled high stations in Russia, many foreign families being introduced amongst the Russian nobility, both Scotch, German, English, and Genoese. Ivan introduced a considerable body of the Boyars into his service, and they became to him at length his most efficient auxiliaries. By artifice and intrigue, and by the most unprincipled means, Ivan had succeeded in establishing a strong government, principally by opposing the Tartars to the Russians, and the reverse when he wanted the aid of either.

The commerce of the country had been considerably developed up to this time; merchant ships arrived from Constantinople at Kief, bringing silks, spices, and cotton cloths, taking back in exchange furs and other Russian produce. From the Black Sea and the Dnieper, to the Caspian and the Volga, a considerable trade was carried on; the Germans brought fine cloths, salt and corn, whilst Russia returned furs, wax, honey, and leather. The study of medicine had now made some progress; and skilful practitioners, chiefly amongst the Armenians, ameliorated much the condition of the people. Literature was making some little struggle for existence; and a poem was composed on the expedition of Igor into Greece, by a native having very respectable pretensions to talent.

The relative value of money was established, whereby extensive markets and fairs were opened in various parts of the country, where luxuries of the East, from Italy and Greece, were to be found in such places where traffic had scarcely been known before. Besides the merchants who were attracted to Russia, architects and painters were invited to the country; and many large churches were built by the strangers, which were ornamented with images and paintings, likewise of their workmanship. Monasteries were first built about this time, when the use of bricks was introduced by a German artist; thus the sciences and arts owed all their progress to the introduction of Christianity into Russia, which had, in the fourteenth century, made great progress towards its becoming a vast empire. Princes, boyars, and merchants, vied with each other in building churches.

The bishops and pastors of religion humanized the manners, and checked the atrocities, even of their Princes—they became respected by the people, and controlled the barbarous usages to which they had been accustomed. Ivan was extremely avaricious, and extorted large sums of money from his subjects. He received the name of "Kalita" or "Purse," having always a purse borne before him, filled with money for the poor. At his death he was sufficiently rich to purchase from the Tartar Khan the right of succession to the throne for his eldest son. Towards his latter end, he entered into a monastery, where he died in 1340, in the twelfth year of his reign. His eldest son, Simeon, with many other Princes, became a candidate for the sovereignty, which could not be obtained without the consent of Usbek, who was the supreme arbiter and disposer of the

Russian throne. Usbek denominated all the children of Ivan as his successors, although he allowed Simeon, the eldest and the ablest of them, to make himself sole master of the throne; and he was further confirmed in it by the purchase of his father. Simeon was now confirmed in the sole authority, although he was obliged to cede one half of the taxes to his brothers.

Simeon the Proud, as he was styled, had a foreign foe to contend with in the person of the King of Sweden, who declared war against him on the pretence of religious fervour in the cause of the Romish Church, into whose pale he attempted to draw the Russians. But this was merely a cloak for his ambition. He was obliged to recross the Neva with great loss; and the Pope excommunicated him for having dissipated in this war the patrimony of St. Peter. Peace was soon after concluded; after which, in the year 1532, a most horrible calamity, the plague, visited Russia from Asia, carrying off, it is said, from some towns almost its last inhabitant. The family of the Grand Prince, and Simeon himself, died of it at the age of thirty-six years, and of his reign the thirteenth.

Ivan II. succeeded him; but the throne of Moscow, in 1353, was for some time vacant, waiting the decision of the Tartar Khan, Dienebek. Nothing can we find in this short reign at all interesting, and it terminated after six years' duration, in the year 1539, and the thirty-third of his age. Ivan was succeeded by his son, Simeon, who, being at Novogorod at the death of his father, immediately set off to the "Golden Horde" with his brothers. He reminded Usbek of the fidelity with which his father had always served him, and succeeded so adroitly with the Khan that he was duly installed as Sovereign Prince.

He profited immediately by his power—he was installed with solemnity in the Cathedral of Volodomir, and swore on the tomb of his ancestors that he would live in perfect harmony with his brothers. He levied taxes on the people, raised troops, and gave every indication of an active reign, during which time the famous Tartar Khan of Kaptchak died, who had brought so many calamities upon Russia. Then came Dimitri III., but nominally only, since his pretensions were not sanctioned by the Tartar Khan, Berdibek, who had just returned from his expedition to Persia; and the first domestic act which Dimitri committed in order to confirm his power, was to destroy his twelve brethren, which led to many civil wars in Russia, and the throne of Moscow was unoccupied for twelve months, when Ardval, the Tartar Khan, appointed Dimitri IV. to the vacant throne, in the year 1363, and the mock sovereign was obliged to yield to all his decisions, of which the formula was—"Such is my will." Dimitri, the eldest son of Ivan, was only thirteen years of age at this time; he repaired immediately to Moscow, accompanied by his uncle Vladimir Andrevitch, whose counsel guided his inexperience.

This Prince showed early proofs of courage and decision of character, in the numerous intestine broils to which the country was always subject, in consequence of the many divisions among the petty Princes; but his most formidable enemy was the Tartar Khan, Mamai, who was bent upon overthrowing the Sovereign of Moscow. He entered the Russian territories with 700,000 men, bringing in his train hired troops from Armenia, Circassia, and other countries. He marched quietly on as far as Varonej, where some of the petty Princes sent their embassies of submission to him.

Dimitri, informed of his enterprise, took the alarm, and, by the advice of the Metropolitan, sent also an embassy of peace to him; but the Tartar required terms which the proud spirit of the young Prince could not submit to. He assembled an army, and chose for leaders to conduct it, two monks from the Trinity Monastery, famous for their valour, intrepid and skilful generals. He passed the Don with three hundred thousand men. At length the two armies met; a Tartar chief challenged to single combat any chief of the Russian army. One of the monks accepted it, and so obstinate was the combat that they killed each other. The battle began, and the victory was in favour of the Tartars. Dimitri was wounded, and had two horses killed under him. He made his way with difficulty out of the battle. A violent wind is said to have blinded his army with the dust: suddenly the wind changed, and the Tartars, conceiving this to be a miracle in favour of the Russians, took to flight. Mamai, with the rest of the army, was completely routed. Dimitri pursued his successes even to the Tartar camp, where he took great spoils and captured numerous prisoners; but the victory cost very dear to the brave Dimitri and his troops, the latter being reduced to 40,000 men. He was found in a wood exhausted by his wounds, which did not prove dangerous. This great battle was won on the banks of the Don, in the year 1380, but a more terrible fate awaited the unfortunate Prince.

Mamai, the Tartar Khan, was superseded by Takhtamijeh, who invaded his territories. The Tartar marauders were now firmly established in Russia. They were the real Sovereigns over the Grand Princes, whose dissensions made them an easy prey to the Khan of the

Kaptchak. The successor of Genghis Khan claimed nothing less than the possession of the whole earth; for the conquest of Europe they assigned eighteen years. Octai, the first after Genghis, died by poison; the second, Gaieck, held the throne but transiently; the third sustained reverses; and the fourth, who pretended to be the Sovereign of the world, was not even master in his own territories. Thus was the seed sown of the dissolution of the Tartar Empire, which probably suspended the intended invasion of Vienna, Berlin, and Constantinople. They were soon weakened by divisions among themselves. The Golden Horde threw off its dependence on the Mongol Khan, and, however weakened among themselves, it was at the expense of Russia, which served as their battle-field, and the prize of their victories. Takhtamijeh, a barbarous chief, determined on invading Moscow. He marched against it in furious hostile array. The Russian Princes having joined him, Dimitri had no power to defend himself against so powerful an invason, and he quitted the sacred city, which, abandoned by its Prince, was given up to intestine commotions. It was besieged, and defended by Oster a Prince of the blood, who had thrown himself into it. The Tartars offered proposals of peace, saying that they had no hatred against the inhabitants, but demanded of them only trifling presents for homage. These offers were accepted, and the gates were opened; the Prince and the Boyars came out with the Nobles, and an immense crowd of people, to pay these marks of homage, preceded by the Clergy, carrying crosses and images before the Priests. The Tartars, on a given signal, fell upon them sword in hand, and committed the most horrible carnage. The deputies were all destroyed; the Tartars entered into

the city, and delivered it up to massacre and the flames, so that there remained only the ruins of the walls which the Grand Prince had raised about fifteen years before. The barbarians likewise laid the country waste, and destroyed other towns; so that Russia had scarcely ever suffered a more terrible spoliation than on this occasion. Takhtamijeh returned to the horde, satisfied with the vengeance which he had inflicted on the poor Dimitri; and in reply to one of the petty Princes, who thought to obtain from him the sovereignty of Moscow, he replied—"I had reason to complain of Dimitri, and I have punished him. At present, I am content with his fidelity, and do not think it right to deprive him of his heritage." This unfortunate Prince died at the age of forty years, after a reign of twenty-six years, of whom his historian says—"He united gentleness with majesty." He was much respected by his subjects, to whom he rendered justice with impartiality. His uprightness and the goodness of his heart supplied the defect of his want of knowledge. The sciences were said to have been slightly developed in those days, consisting merely of writing, and some knowledge of the Fathers. Princes were brought up to read the Bible, and almost to know it by heart.

The policy of Dimitri was conspicuous in his establishing a class of nobility in Russia, called the Boyars, as a check to the ambition of the Princes, whom they sometimes superseded in their governments. He gave them an interest to secure the safety of the Sovereign's throne, thereby constituting his own power, by the connecting link of the Boyars, throughout the Empire. He completed the subjugation of the conflicting Princes, and thus established the Sovereignty of the Prince of Mos-

cow. Dimitri continued his efforts to support this order of nobility, by which means he hoped to resist the Tartars until they should be finally driven out of Russia. Here was a new ingredient of power which he established, and so important did he deem it, that, as a last injunction to his son, and in his will to all future grand Princes, he enforced the necessity of this power, both for establishing the throne, and for expelling the enemies of his country. Until this reign, Moscow was built almost entirely of wood. Dimitri built the Kremlin of stone. "Kremle," the Tartar word, signifies the quarters of the Sovereign, or fortress. It was surrounded with a wall flanked by towers, and defended by ditches.

The eldest son of Dimitri succeeded Vassili II. in 1389; and this is so far an interesting part of Russian history, that it introduces us to the great Tamerlane—that conqueror and devastator of nations—who sprang up in grim array, seemingly to stain their records with rapine and blood. The Orientals call this great warrior Timour-lang—the lame. He halted by reason of an accident received in his youth. He was born in 1332, reigned thirty-six years, and died at the age of sixty-three. He was equal to Cæsar in courage, and not inferior to Alexander in good fortune. He conquered the Indies, subdued Persia, vanquished the Turks, and ravaged all Egypt. His name and reputation have reached nations the most remote, and infants have been frightened by the name of Timour, who was Prince of Kesch, near Samarkand, and his dominion took its rise in the Great Bokharia, where, in 1369, he received the homage of the grandees, and the title of Sovereign of the World. In 1371, he invaded Khorasan, and made himself master of the whole country, and in 1384 he was in

possession of almost the whole of Persia to the borders of Armenia. He took Bagdad, and various cities of Mesopotamia and Georgia, ravaged Moscow, and conquered Asoph, then prosecuted the subjugation of Persia, and again returned to Samarkand. In 1398, he set out on an expedition to India, and crossed the Ganges. At the commencement of the succeeding century, he made an incursion into Mameluke Syria, conquered Aleppo, Damascus, and once more Bagdad; this done, he proceeded again to Georgia, forced Natolia to surrender, defeated Bajazet, took him prisoner, and laid the Emperor of Constantinople, the Sultan of the Ottomans, and the Mamelukes, under heavy contributions. After this he made another expedition to Georgia, and in 1404 repaired again to Samarkand. Here he was attacked by a severe illness, just as he was projecting a march to China—there to restore the dominion of the Mongols. As suddenly as this common disturber had completed his amazing conquests, so rapidly did they fall away under his successors, who lost, one after another, all the countries which Timour had left them, and the last Khan, Babur, in 1498, was obliged to abandon his only possession. Russia trembled before him; and her entire preservation was due to the warring feuds of the Tartars amongst themselves, already alluded to, since Takhtamijeh dared to oppose him, and sent an army as far as Tauris to arrest the progress of the then invader of Persia, which groaned under his yoke. But Takhtamijeh was severely punished for his temerity. Tamerlane deposed him from his throne at Klaptchak, and placed a Khan there, all subservient to his orders. Tamerlane entered Russia at the head of 400,000 men, and advanced as far as the government of Varonej. Vassili assembled his forces, although his utter destruc-

tion seemed inevitable. But, contrary to all expectation, Tamerlane retraced his steps, his army being wanted in some other quarter. The Russians believe that he was troubled by a dream—and that it was a miracle of the virgin, whose image they had invoked for their protection. Numerous wars amongst the petty princes continued to devastate the country. One of them, in seeking the alliance of the Tartar Khan, Boulet Sultan, procured him to march an army against Vassili at Moscow. The Prince quitted the city, and most of the inhabitants took to flight, leaving it a prey to pillage and disorder. Some more courageous among them defended it, and at length succeeded in repelling the invaders, from whom they had suffered the most horrible cruelties; added to which, the excessive rigour of the season caused great numbers of the houseless peasants to perish, and famine stalked around them, committing dreadful havoc, causing thousands to die from want.

The cities of Moscow and Twer were the first to introduce silver coin bearing the Tartar character upon them, and subsequently Russic character. The most ancient of this money bears the date of 1398. Vassili died in the year 1425, after a reign of thirty-six years. He is said to have been inactive, and completely ruled by the Boyars, who oppressed the people, and rendered his name odious. This reign was full of misfortunes to his poor subjects; for, besides the Tartar invasion, Russia was twice visited with the horrors of the plague, and more than once exposed to famine, a dreadful earthquake at Novogorod, and numerous foes destroyed the greater part of the buildings. The first sounding clock was put up in Moscow in 1404—the work of a Servian called Lazarus. His son, Vassili III., commonly called the

Blind, although an infant of ten years only, was placed upon the throne in 1425, by the address and courage of his mother. The hereditary right of succession was now completely established from the last three reigns, in preference to the former rights of the elder branch of the reigning family, when the uncle, in all cases, superseded the children of the defunct sovereign prince. Dimitri's uncle sought to establish the ancient right of the eldest branch, and for that purpose sent to enlist the Tartar Khan in his interests, by sumptuous presents, &c. Nor was Vassili behind him in this particular, through the influence of the Boyars, whom he accompanied, both acknowledging themselves vassals to Oglou Mahomet, who decided in favour of the young prince; but his uncle, Georges, at length succeeded in deposing the nephew, and sent him to Kolumna, a city dependent on this princedom. Vassili attracted to himself there the principal Boyars of the kingdom, by whom he was much loved, and the usurper saw himself completely abandoned even by his own sons.

Georges voluntarily quitted the invaded throne, resigning it to the Prince Vassili, whom the choice of the people made it so decidedly his right. Fortune again changes, and, in pursuing his uncle for vengeance, Vassili was completely defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Novogorod, from whence he went to the Tartar horde to implore assistance from the Khan, at which time Georges died, and Vassili again mounted the throne; but he exercised great cruelties on the son of the usurper, who endeavoured to possess the sovereign power. He was guilty of great ingratitude against his benefactor, Oglou Mahomet, who, being deposed by another Khan, sought permission from him to find an

asylum in his kingdom. This was not only refused, but he sent a large army to expel him from the territory, where he had built a temporary town of ice to winter in, with strong ice walls of defence. Such walls are said to be, during the rigour of the winter, equally irresistible with those of stone. The Tartars defended themselves within it most vigorously, and at length drove off the forces of the Sovereign Prince.

Three years after, when Mahomet had once more established his power, he marched against Moscow to chastise the ungrateful Vassili, who, in a great engagement with the Tartars, fell into their hands after performing prodigies of valour. The Khan set him a noble example of revenge for injuries received, by restoring him to his throne after merely requiring a ransom for his liberty. Vassili returned to Moscow, but other enemies pursued him there. This was Chimiski, his cousin, the grandson of Georges, the usurper. This prince was restored to his throne as being the rightful heir, which shows that legitimacy was established in Russia as a principle of government, and that that law had taken deep root in the minds of the people. The Boyars were interested in the maintenance of order, by which alone their rights could be secured, and their allegiance to the Sovereign, who was an obstinate and self-willed ruler.

Vassili went to the Trinity Monastery to return thanks for his deliverance upon the miraculous tomb of Ignomini Sengui; his enemies, having bribed over the Boyars of Moscow, had, in the mean time, entered the city with numerous followers. The Prince, whilst performing his devotional exercises, was informed of his danger; he contemned the intelligence, when Chimiski soon appeared, and dragged him from the church to Moscow,

where he caused his eyes to be put out, by which he became as blind by nature as he had been by intellect; but the cruel usurper could not tranquilly enjoy the fruits of his crimes. The people deserted him, and at length he was obliged to fly to Novogorod, where he ended his days, some say by poison, and others that a tormenting conscience wore out his existence. The remainder of the reign of Vassili was said to have been tranquil, after having severely punished the petty Princes for their joining the enemy against him. He died in the year 1462, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, much lamented by his subjects.

Up to the termination of this reign, Russia had made some progress in improvement as regarded the arts, and the extension of commerce, which, in spite of the disturbed state of the country by the Tartar invasion, had considerably increased. Such is the elasticity of this power; wherever it can insinuate itself, the love of gain defies all obstacles. The use of gunpowder was introduced in this reign. Of the ceremonies of the Muscovite Court we have a slight glimpse in the reception of foreign ambassadors, which was thus regulated. Vassili endeavoured to imitate the Eastern Princes in giving them a magnificent *entrée* into his capital, which was accompanied with long and fatiguing ceremonies.

On approaching the frontier, the ambassador announced his arrival to the governors of the neighbouring towns, when he was asked, among other questions, "from what country he came, the name of his sovereign, if he was of illustrious origin, the rank which he possessed, if he had already been in Russia, if he spoke Russ, how many persons were in his suite, and what they were

called?" The replies were immediately transmitted to the Prince, who sent to the Ambassador a grand dignitary to conduct him to the capital, who determined the road they should take, as well as the places where they should dine and sleep. The march was so slow, that they sometimes made only fifteen or twenty versts per day; and this during an inclement season, in the rigorous climate of Russia, entailed great suffering to the European stranger. On approaching near to Moscow, the Sovereign sent other gentlemen of his court to conduct the Ambassador to the capital; several officers richly dressed, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, who, informing themselves of the state of health of the illustrious stranger, conducted him to the "Palace of Ambassadors," a vast edifice situated on the banks of the Moskwa, in which were large empty apartments; here they were obliged to wait a long time, until the grand day of audience was fixed upon.

In the mean time, the Ambassador was entertained at the expense of the Sovereign, which was so well regulated, that every thing was measured out to him by the royal purveyor—the quantity of meat, honey, onions, pepper, butter, and even fire-wood. A long time was required to make the grand preparations for his reception in the Kremlin, the Prince sending horses for him, richly caparisoned; in the interim, the Ambassador remained in the palace quite alone, no one being permitted to have access to him. The audience was of that solemn, formal character, borrowed from the Orientals. The Ambassador was welcomed, the despatches were received, and he was ordered to wait the pleasure of the Sovereign, being in the mean time assured that he should be "clothed and fed."

CHAPTER III.

Ivan the Great—Drives the Tartars from Russia—his Wars—Successful Expeditions—his Marriage with a Greek Princess—Effects great Changes in Russia—Respected by the European Courts—Encourages the Arts—the first Coinage in Russia—forms Foreign Alliances—First Intercourse of the English with Russia—the British Sailor, Chancellor, Wrecked—his Journey to Moscow—his Audience with the Tzar—Dining with the Grand Prince—Splendour of the Court of Muscovy—Chancellor returned to England—Sent to Russia on an Embassy from Queen Mary—Second Audience of the Tzar—Grand Banquet—A Russian Ambassador sent to England—Sir Anthony Jenkinson sent to Russia as Ambassador—his Audience and Dining with the Tzar—Ivan's magnificent Hospitality—Vassili—his Accession—the Title of Emperor conferred upon him by the Emperor of Germany—the Tartars completely Subdued during this Reign—Progress of the Russian Empire—Military Forces—Foreign Commerce—Moscow, a grand City—Manners and Customs of the People—Russian Hospitality—Reception of Foreign Ambassadors—Ivan the Terrible—his Education—his Marriage—the Discovery of Siberia—his sanguinary Deeds—Leaves Moscow—Returns from Alexandrova—Arms the Strelitzes as his Body Guards—Marches upon Novogorod—Wholesale Massacre of the Inhabitants—Returns to Moscow—Terror of the Inhabitants—Numerous Executions—an English Ambassador arrives at Moscow—his Audience with the Tzar—a Russian Ambassador returns with him to England—Ivan's Letter to Queen Elizabeth—Foreign Wars, and Revolts at Home—Proposes to Abdicate in favour of his Son—The Tartars again Invade Russia—Sir Jerome Bowles sent to Moscow—his Reception by the Tzar—the Tzar's Anger against Him—his Request to Queen Elizabeth for an English Wife—he Murders his Favourite Son—Remorse of Conscience—Retires to a Monastery—his Death—Feodore succeeds to the Throne of Russia—the English Ambassador insulted by Shalkan,

the Chancellor—his return to England—another English Ambassador goes to Russia—Boris Goudonoff Rules the young Tzar—his Murder of the Prince Dimitri—Death of Feodore—Extinction of the Race of Rurik—the Progress of Russia—Customs of the People—Military Forces—Superstitious Respect for the Sovereign—Russia becomes an Elective Monarchy.

IVAN the Third, commonly called the Great, then twenty-three years of age, succeeded his father as Sovereign Prince, in 1462. The authority of the Sovereign had never before been so extensive, many of the little dependent governments having been added to his dominions. The divisions amongst the Tartar Khans gave the Russian princes an insight into their weaknesses. The journey to the Golden Horde, which used to be so formidable, showed them that they might defy their power with impunity, since the Tartar armies had ceased to be an available force. It was then obvious that the only protecting power was at Moscow, to which the petty princes had recourse as a matter of necessity, thus strengthening the authority of the Grand Prince, until at length they all became his vassals. Dimitri was the first sovereign to defy the Tartar power, by putting their ambassador to death when he came to claim tribute, who, but three years before, had appeared at the horde on his knees. The Russians now, both the Priests and Boyars, rallied round their Prince to resist the Tartar power; they began to feel their own strength.

The fury of the Khan, on hearing of the murder of his representative, united the princes still more closely, and at length the Tartars fled before the Russians; the delusion of their invincibility was gone, and the Russians were no longer their slaves. Mahomet Khan, then the Tartar chief, hastened into Russia to re-establish his

slighted authority; but Dimitri, at the head of the combined Russian princes, utterly destroyed his army on the Don. The two principal causes of the destruction of the Tartar power in Russia were now rapidly gaining ground—viz., their own dissensions and the power of the Grand Princes, which at length ended by sweeping every thing before them; thus the Tartar yoke was broken, and the paramount sway of the Grand Princes was established. Nor was the young Sovereign insensible of this; he seemed to view the Tartars as objects for the triumph of his arms, over whom he could gain an easy victory. He gained a great advantage over the Tartar Khan, Atchmet, who endeavoured to regain the Tartar ascendency, by sending deputies to Twer to receive from him the customary tribute, to which his predecessors had submitted. But Ivan massacred the deputies, and stamped the order under his feet, to express his indignation. Atchmet marched an army into Russia to take vengeance upon him; but he was defeated by the Grand Prince, who went even to the Golden Horde, and gave it up to the flames, destroying the inhabitants with the most horrid cruelty, and finally blotting out this Golden Horde, which had been established as far back as 1237, when Russia had been so enslaved that she began to crumble from intestine divisions.

This domination of the Tartars over the Russians may be attributed to various causes. In the first place, to the famine, plague, and other disasters already alluded to, and then to the intestine divisions of the Russians, which made them such an easy prey to their enemies. Iouri, the Prince of Volodomir, instead of strengthening himself by an alliance with the Bulgarians, was solely occupied in adorning churches, praying to the saints, and follow-

ing the monks, believing that God would do the rest. The Russian princes, instead of uniting against the common enemy, referred their disputes to the arbitration of Bati Khan, who thus became their master, and established on the Russian frontier the Empire of the Klaptchak, which extended from the north of the Caspian to the banks of the Don.

Having established their supremacy in Russia, the Tartars caused a census of the inhabitants to be made, and sent governors and forces into the principal towns to impose taxes on the people. We can likewise trace the fall of this Tartar power, which may be attributed to the rivalry amongst their chiefs for the succession of the Khanship. The facility with which the chiefs of wandering tribes could revolt, the necessity, in so large an empire, of entrusting large portions of it to the lieutenants, the ravages of Timour in 1400,—all these causes contributed to the enfeebling of the Klaptchak, which may be dated from the middle of the fourteenth century, after the reign of Usbek, and more than a century posterior to its foundation; when the Tartars, although not expelled, were brought under the domination of Russia, and the young Sovereign, Ivan, now freed from their yoke, had gained a complete triumph over the invaders. Ivan besieged the city of Kasan, and Ibrahim Khan was glad to obtain peace on the terms of acknowledging himself the vassal of the Sovereign Prince.

This is so far an interesting portion of the history of Russia, that now we see the Tartars succumbing to the Russians. From this period the Sovereign of Kasan took the title of Tzar, supposed to be a corruption of the Tartar word Khan, or rather the Russ translation of it. Ivan became also, by conquest, Tzar of Novogorod,

which, until now, had been an independent state, governed by its lieutenant or namestrick; and this ancient city, so long jealous of its independence, fell rapidly into decay of commerce and importance. Ivan also made war upon Cassimir, King of Poland, and gained great advantages over him, taking numerous prisoners, and obliging them to enter his service.

This war lasted for ten years, when the Grand Prince gave his daughter in marriage to one of the Polish princes, Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithouania. Shortly after this he added the Princedom of Twer to his dominions, the vassal Prince, Mikhail, having rebelled against him, whom his subjects deserted, and he took flight into Lithouania. So formidable a prince, and whose power was daily augmenting, did not want a pretext to march against Kasan, which city, although he had formerly subdued it, was yet in the power of the Tartars, and they refused any longer to acknowledge their vassalage. Ivan was eminently successful in this and all his enterprises. He took the Khan and all his family prisoners, and sent them to Moscow, where they suffered death.

An "Ovsvorde," or Governor, was appointed over the city of Kasan, but he afterwards placed on the throne a branch of the former family, Mahomet Ameen, whom he thought he had secured to his interests from the enormous benefits conferred upon him; but Ameen revolted, and was captured after the most horrible treachery against his benefactor. All the neighbours of Ivan experienced the effects of his ambition, and those who proclaimed themselves to be his enemies, only contributed to his glory and his aggrandizement. He declared war against the Livonians, and a great battle was fought between them and the Russians at Plestof, where the latter brought

into the field, it is said, as many as a hundred thousand men, whilst the Livonians had only twelve thousand; an immense slaughter on both sides was the result. This prince, whose glory was spread so extensively around him, was looked upon with respect by some, with terror by others; but he was a prey to domestic grief and family treachery. Betrayed by two of his brothers, Andrew and Boris, he forgave them both; but they again plotted against him, when he was obliged to exercise severity upon them.

He had married two wives; the second was Sophia, daughter of the last Greek Emperor, Constantine, since the Turks had by this time invaded Constantinople. Ivan thought by this alliance to acquire for himself or his descendants some right to the throne of the golden city. By his first wife, Helen, he had a son, who, dying in early life, left a son called Dimitri, who was the presumptive heir to the throne; but Sophia, his second wife, by whom he had likewise a son, became jealous that Dimitri should come to the rich succession of the Emperors of Constantinople in preference to her own son, Vassili; hence jealousies were excited, and domestic feuds in the family of the Grand Prince, which tended much to disturb his peace. At length Vassili was declared by him to be his heir, and Dimitri and his mother Helen were sent into exile. It appears that, in the progress of the Greek church, in those days the names of the royal family were particularized to be prayed for.

The reign of Ivan, commonly called "the Great," is, as yet, the most remarkable in the Russian annals. He annihilated the powers of all the other princes, thus bringing them within the government of one Sovereign Prince at Moscow. "I will reign at Novogorod," said he

to the deputies from that city, "as I reign at Moscow;" and this he completely established, for, on some resistance on their part, he stripped them of all their gold and valuables. The spoils were sent to Moscow—an immense amount of gold and silver, and precious stones, besides furs, cloths, and merchandise. The extinction of the Tartars from the Russian soil during this reign, was complete. The Golden Horde was annihilated, and her princes were no more. It was necessary that all other tyrannies in Russia should fall before the supreme tyrant —that there should be but one single head of the state, into which all authority should merge. In the accomplishment of this plan, acts of injustice, and even of cruelty, were committed. Thus, Ivan broke all the ties of honour and humanity, and sacrificed the best feelings of his nature. He was the agent of an extraordinary change, which was to affect not only Russia, but likewise Europe. In this particular he deserves a distinguished place in history.

It was in his reign that relations were for the first time established between Great Britain and Russia. He was the first to adopt the title of Tzar, as already stated, which was originally found in the Sclavonian translation of the Bible, and was from thence taken by the Emperors of the East, and the Khan of the Tartars. It was supposed to have been a corruption of the word Cæsar, which it is not. The Russians interpret it by the word "autocrat," or "emperor." In the oldest Sclavonian Bibles, Saul and David are there called Tzars. "Tzarïstvo," signifies realm and kingdom—"Tzarstovovat," to reign. A part of Ivan's cunning policy was his union with Sophia, the last Princess of the Greek imperial family. Byzantium having fallen into the hands of the Turks, she had fled for refuge

to Rome; this alliance pleased the clergy, who said that the illustrious lady was sent by the Almighty, and that she would make another Byzantium of Moscow, and confer upon its sovereigns all the rights of the Greek Emperors.

This marriage had an immense influence on the destinies of Russia, as regarded the refinement and civilization of the people. The Princess Sophia was of a spirit congenial with her husband; she was the daughter of Thomas Paleolagus, Prince of Achaia, and Ivan did not hesitate to sue the Pope, that she should share with him the Muscovite throne, the Princess having applied to the Pontiff for shelter when the Greek Empire was torn up from its foundations.

Sophia invited to her court many Greek officers and expert engineers, when Ivan's subjects were instructed in the use of artillery, then little known to the Muscovites. She felt indignant at the Tartar yoke, and Ivan, from being tributary to them, soon became their conqueror. The luxurious habits of the East were now introduced into Russia, the charm of which acted principally on the affections of the people. The august forms and ceremonies were soon adopted by the Boyars, or nobility; they acknowledged the crafty Sovereign to be the representative of the Divine right, and he assumed that lofty pretensions of the supreme power which was then known only to the Sovereigns of the East, but which has ever since distinguished the Sovereigns of the North.

He likewise assumed the insignia of the Greek Emperors, of the black eagle with two heads, which was incorporated with that which formerly was adopted in Russia—viz., "St. George on horseback;" and these are now the Russian emblems of imperial power. Ivan adapted his policy to the European courts, and strove to

elevate his throne to the loftiest of them. He took care to propitiate the church—the priests were becoming a very important element of his government, by the influence which they held over his subjects. Superstition in Russia was now become quite as rife as in Rome; but the people were more ignorant and barbarous than the Papists, and just suited to the purpose of a crafty sovereign, who knew so well how to turn all adventitious aids to good account.

Ivan's character was a strange mixture of generosity and fraud, of courage and timidity: to compass his ends, no means were by him deemed unworthy. The despot would sacrifice one of his brothers by the most unheard of cruelties, for which the Church granted him plenary absolution. The Russian historians say of him, that "he was the saviour of Russia, the extirpator of the foreign foe, the author of domestic unity, of the imperial power, and of the national liberty."

Thus much for the Russian historians; but the truthfulness of history can never be arrived at without showing the dark as well as the bright side of the portraits, and, as some excuse, it may be said that this character, partaking much of the barbarity of the times, was more educational than inherent. His mighty mind spurned the many tyrannies to which his country was subjected, and he extinguished them all to become the sole tyrant. His yoke was more intolerable than the nation had ever before experienced. His numerous wars in which he was engaged, and always successful, occasioned a vast expenditure, and avarice became at length with him a most sordid passion. Justice was sold by him to the best bidders, and so were the Church appointments. He was bigoted to cruelty, and so jealous of his authority,

that he caused a person to be burned to death for conspiring against his sacred power; and, on the grand place at Moscow, an Archimandrite and a Secretary of State were also burned on a charge of heresy, that he might confiscate their property. The inhabitants of Novogorod, who were in rebellion against him, plotted to assassinate him. Independently of the spoils taken from them, already alluded to, he decimated the city by scattering the inhabitants, ten thousand of whom perished miserably. Every means was allowable in his sight to obtain money, and it was said that he sent agents to Novogorod to provoke the insurrection, in order that he might obtain the plunder. The Knout was a punishment introduced in his day, and he freely exercised his cruelties in Lithouania.

Ivan presents to us a perfect kaleidoscope of character; but now to draw the bright sides of the portrait. He was indefatigable in his efforts for the welfare of Russia. In order to dazzle his subjects with some show of Oriental magnificence, he invited foreign artists to embellish the city of Moscow. Aristotle of Bólogna was both his architect, mint master, and founder. A silver and copper coinage was executed for the first time in this reign at Moscow. Commerce had previously been transacted by barter. For the more trifling transactions of life, small pieces of the skin of the marten were in use; and for the still smaller currency, pieces of squirrel-skins, ears, and even half-ears, were in vogue, called polouchki. The buildings of the Kremlin, with its palaces and churches, arose in all the grandeur of Eastern magnificence. Miners were invited from Germany and Italy to penetrate the mines of Petchora. Guns were cast, and brought into use against the Swedes in 1402. He is said to have had

30,000 Boyars, armed with pikes, swords, and bows, for his body guard.

These dazzling events, to which were added processions and public entertainments on the most lavish scale, gave a new direction to the minds and manners of the people. Russia now began to attract the attention and respect of the different European powers. Ivan had extended her dominions by more than 19,000 square miles, and by an addition of four millions of subjects. Ambassadors were sent to Moscow for the first time, from the Kings of Denmark and Poland, from the Emperor of Germany, the Pope, and Great Britain, with whom he formed treaties of alliance. Russia, partially emancipated from her toils of ignorance and barbarism, was no longer obscured from Europe, and she took a proud attitude in the rank of nations. This was due to the reign of Ivan the Great, who died in 1505, having reigned forty-three years. He left the succession to his grandson, Vassili Ivanovitch, son of the Tzarina Sophia.

It has been stated that relations were first established between Great Britain and Russia during this reign, and it may not be deemed irrelevant to give a slight sketch of the origin and particulars of this memorable event, which has opened to England an immense field of commerce, as well as a friendly alliance with the great potentate of Russia. We likewise get a peep at the regal state of these times in the north of Europe, about the year 1533, in the reign of Edward VI. On the proposal of the famous navigator, Sebastian Cabot, a vessel was fitted out in England for the purpose of discovering a north-east passage to China and India, the command of which was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, and after him to Richard Chancellor; the latter was wrecked in

the Bay of St. Nicholas, in the White Sea, where at that time was only a monastery.

The accidental arrival of an English ship on the shores of Muscovia, a land then totally unknown to British mariners, astonished the natives; and at the sight of the strangers they fled in terror before them, but their confidence was soon won over by the kindnesses and presents of the English, and they sent their chief man of the port to the Emperor at Moscow, to apprize him of the strangers coming amongst them. Upon the receipt of such surprising intelligence as the arrival of a ship from so distant a country of Europe, in these yet untraversed seas and unknown regions, the Tzar Ivan greatly wondered; he was much pleased, and forthwith sent a messenger to the captain of the vessel, with an invitation to his court, offering to bear all the expenses of the journey at his own charge.

The intrepid English sailor, Chanceller, yielded to the wishes of the natives, who pressed him to proceed to the presence of the Tzar, and this added to his own adventurous impulse, he, accompanied by a select few of his people, set out upon this remarkable journey, across the desert wastes and frozen rivers of these northern regions, into the interior of Russia—a journey which laid the foundation of the commercial relations eventually established with England and that vast empire. Chanceller was met on the way by a messenger, bringing to him letters from the Tzar, at which the Muscovites were much pleased, and strove who should do him the most honour, by putting their horses to Chanceller's sledge. After a long and tedious journey of more than 1,500 miles, they arrived at Moscow, although they had frequently got out of the right track.

When Chanceller had been in the city about twelve

days, and was sufficiently refreshed, an officer was sent from the Court to bring him to the Tzar's palace. In obedience to the summons, Chanceller, with his companions, accompanied the officer; and, after entering the court-gates, he was ushered into an outer chamber, where they beheld a very honourable assemblage of persons, to the number of a hundred, sitting all apparelled in robes of cloth of gold, which descended to their ankles. Previously to being led before the Tzar for audience, Chanceller and his companions were ordered not to speak but when the Tzar should demand aught of them. Upon being introduced into the chamber of presence, Ivan was seen seated upon a lofty and very royal throne, having upon his head a diadem of gold; his robe was all of "goldsmiths' work;" in his hand he bore a crystal sceptre, garnished with precious stones; and his countenance was no less "full of majesty." Upon one side of his throne stood his "chief scrivener," and upon the other the "great commander of silence," or court usher, both habited in costly dresses of cloth of gold. Around the chamber were seated his council of one hundred and fifty, upon high seats, all clad as richly.

Richard Chanceller, nothing abashed by the imperial presence, and the unexpected splendour of the assembly, made his obeisance to the Tzar in the English manner, and presented some letters which he had written, and which had been translated into Russian, detailing the object of his voyage, and the circumstances which had brought him upon that distant coast of his dominions. Ivan having taken from his hands the letters which he had prepared for the occasion, read them with much interest and satisfaction, making inquiry of King Edward's health; and, having invited him and his companions to dinner, dismissed them until then. Previously, how-

ever, to their leave-taking, the secretary presented them with a gift, divesting himself of his cap, and baring his head in great reverence, before which time all of them had stood covered. Chanceller and his companions were invited to the chamber of the secretary, and having sat there two hours were at length summoned to dinner.

The Tzar was already seated at table, but habited now in a "robe of silver," and wearing another crown upon his head. This building was called the "Golden Palace;" but, as far as regarded the hall, it does not appear to have merited that grandiloquent appellation in the opinion of the Englishmen, who imagined that they had seen "many fairer."

Around the chamber, but at a distance from that of the Tzar, other long tables were laid out, elevated from the floor by a platform; and in the centre stood a cupboard, filled with large and massive goblets, and other vessels, of gold and silver; amongst which, distinguished by their size and splendour, rose four mighty flagons, nearly two yards high, wrought on the top with elegant devices of towers and dragons' heads. The guests, entering according to precedence of rank, ascended to their table by three steps, each of them apparelled in linen, lined throughout with costly furs. The viands and messes were brought in without order, but all of them on rich chargers of gold, equally with those laid before the Tzar; and there were two hundred that day who took their seats there. On every board there were placed cups of gold without number. The servitors themselves, who were as many as one hundred and forty, were likewise arrayed in habits of gold, and waited at the tables with caps upon their heads.

The guests and Boyars who were in highest favour with the Tzar, sat upon the same bench with him, but

at a distance. Previously to meat coming in, according to ancient custom of the great Dukes of Russia, the Tzar sent to every guest a slice of bread; and the officer of the court, upon presenting each, in a solemn voice exclaimed, "Ivan Vassilivitch, Emperor of Russia, &c. &c., doth reward thee with bread;" at which words all present stood up. Hereupon, swans were served in pieces, each piece in a separate dish, which the Tzar sent about in the same manner as the bread, as also the wine. During the dinner, Ivan changed his crown twice, and his servitors their apparel three times, to whom also the Tzar gave bread and drink with his own hands—a custom which, Chanceller and his companions were informed, was done to the intent that he might possibly know the persons of his own household.

When the banquet was terminated, the Tzar called each of his nobles to him by name. By this time, as it was growing dark, lights were brought in, and Chanceller and his companions then departed to their lodgings, an hour before night.

Honoured with many magnificent gifts from the Tzar, Chanceller returned to England, with every encouragement for our merchants to engage in commercial relations with these heretofore unknown people. The account Chanceller gave of the country excited a very lively satisfaction amongst those merchants of London who had been previously incorporated into a company by royal charter, under the title of "Merchants adventuring for the discovery of lands unknown." Chanceller, on his second voyage to Russia, took with him some agents from this company, provided with a circumstantial set of instructions, and likewise a letter to the Tzar, subscribed by Philip and Mary; and from henceforth these merchants, so formally incorporated by "royal

charter," took the name, style, and title of "The Russia Company," to whom Ivan Vassilivitch granted a licence to settle and trade in all parts of the Russian dominions, free of all taxes and imposts whatsoever. The document is very long, and I will not fatigue the reader by transcribing it. The names of the English merchants to whom the grant was made, include Sir George Barnes and Sir John Gresham, Knights; by which we learn who were the founders of the "Russia Company." The quaintness of the style will be seen by the opening clause:—

"Ivan Vassilivitch, by the grace of God, Emperor of Russia, Great Duke of Novogorod, Muscovia, &c., to all people that shall see, reade, heare, or understande these presents, greeting: forasmuch as God hath planted all realms and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath need of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means thereof trafficke used from one to the other, and amity thereby increased; and for that amongst men nothing is more to be desired than amity, without which no creature, being of a natural good disposition, can live in quietnesse; so that it is troublesome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous to the body to lack air, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite to the confirmation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needful merchandize is, which furnisheth men with all that is convenient for their living and nourriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other things convenient and profitable for them; and the merchandize bringeth the same commodities from divers quarters, by means whereof nothing is lacking in any part," &c.

"Upon these respects, and other weighty and good

considerations us hereunto moving, and chiefly upon the contemplation of the gracious letters directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queen Mary, by the Grace of God Queen of England, France, &c., in the favour of her subjects, merchants, the governors, consuls, assistants, and community of merchants, adventurers for the discovery of lands, &c.

"The licence, faculty, authority, and power was granted to the said community of merchants, to enter freely into all the countries, dominions, cities, and towns of Russia, to buy, sell, or barter all kinds of merchandize, &c., freely and quietly, without restraint, impeachment, custom, toll, &c.—Dated at our Castle of Moscow, the 20th day of August, in the year 7063." Upon Chanceller's second visit he had a house appointed him for his residence whilst in Moscow; and his diet was at the Tzar's charge. On this occasion, he received his audience in a large chamber spread with carpets. Upon his entering and salutation, all the nobles present stood up, the Tzar alone remaining seated, except when the Queen of England's name was read or spoken, when he himself rose.

At the banquet given to Chanceller on this visit, the Tzar sat bareheaded, his crown and rich cap being placed near him. Upon our mariner's return to England, he was accompanied by an ambassador from Ivan to the Queen of England, Osep Naper, the governor of Wologda; but this last voyage was fatal to Richard Chanceller: the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and he was drowned in the generous effort to save the Russian ambassador; and the ship was plundered of the greater part of her cargo by the people on the coast. The ambassador, after remaining some time in England, returned to Russia in company with Anthony Jenkinson, "in command of four large ships." The instructions for

this voyage are curious, delivered "in the third voyage, anno 1556, for Russia," containing twelve articles, and amongst them the sixth article thus recommends: "And principally, see that you forget not daily, in all the voyage, both morning and evening, to call the company within board to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voyage will have the better success thereby, and the company prosper the better." Anthony Jenkinson completely succeeded in the object of his mission, by procuring from the Tzar a further patent or privilege of trading in his dominions by the "Russia Company," their former privileges being not only confirmed, but considerably enlarged.

It will convey some idea of the religious feeling which pervaded these documents, to quote the translation of the opening paragraph. "One only strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, our only God in trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge-giver of the true God, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe us together and give us health to prefer our kingdom, thou giver of all good fruites and helper of all Christian believers. We, great Lord, by the grace of God, &c., Ivan Vassilivitch. Given in our kingdom and house of Mosco, the year from the beginning of the world 7000 threescore and sixteen, in the month of September, and in the 34 yeere of our raigne, and in our conquest of Kasan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15."—Rape Rutter, translator.

On arriving at Moscow, the Tzar received the Ambassador sitting on a lofty chair of state, richly crowned, and a

staff of gold in his hand set with costly stones. At a distance from the Tzar sat his brother, and a youth, the son of the Emperor of Kasan, whom the Russ had conquered. Divers ambassadors, both Heathen and Christian, variously robed in the dresses of their nations, with six hundred guests, sat at the tables; the brother of the Tzar and some of the chief nobles sitting at the imperial board. During dinner, the musicians made their appearance, and, taking up their position in the midst of the banqueting hall, sang three several tunes; but, as it would appear, affording little or no delight to the more refined ears of our countrymen. As evidence of the rude manners, but huge scale of hospitality and accommodation, of the Muscovite Court, there dined at the same time in the other halls of the palace, two thousand Tartars who had come to serve the Tzar in his wars. The English guests were placed at a small table by themselves, directly opposite to the Tzar, who sent them frequent bowls of wine and many dishes from his own hand. The messes and dishes were, it appears, but little relished by our countrymen; but they found the changes of wines and meats wonderfully agreeable to their palates. In token of his pleasure at the presence of the English guests, Ivan sent for, and invited them personally, each time they dined at court. On Christmas-day, which is a grand festival with the Russians, our countrymen being invited, fared in the manner of provisions as before; but the display of gold and silver plate filled them with astonishment; amongst others, were twelve barrels of silver hooped with fine gold, containing twelve gallons each.

Such are the particulars of the early intercourse between England and Russia, which led to many subsequent complimentary embassies and treaties of commerce.

These will be noticed in the reigns when they occurred. The history of this reign is not so conspicuous for any stirring events of foreign conquest, or civil strifes, as for the quiet march of internal improvement, which at this period made great progress in Russia. This Prince occupied himself in consolidating the plans of his father, in which he completely succeeded, and he left Russia enlarged, improved, and respected by foreign nations, to his son, after ruling it forty-three years.

Ivan was succeeded by Vassili Ivanovitch in 1505, who seemed more inclined by peace to consolidate the conquests of his father, than by new wars to add to them. The rights of the young Dimitri, which were annulled by the will of the late sovereign, found no defenders, and this miserable prince died in captivity, without any one interesting themselves about his fate. The Tartars at first troubled Vassili, whom he overthrew, and they conquered his troops in return. He concluded a treaty of peace with Poland, which was soon after broken by Alexander, king of that country: he entered, also, into a treaty of peace and commerce with Lithouania for sixteen years: he took the city of Smolensko from the Poles, and was joyfully received by the people of that country, the greater part of whom were of the Greek Church, and only waited this opportunity to separate themselves from the Roman communion. Vassili formed a treaty of alliance with the Emperor Maximilien in the year 1514, who conferred upon him the title of Emperor, which was shortly after recognised by the King of England and the other Sovereigns of Europe. The Tartars were now completely under vassalage to Russia, and their Khans were nominated by the Grand Prince. Vassili chose Chekh Ali to succeed Mahomet Ali, lately dead; but the Tartars were in fre-

quent revolt against the Russians, which occasioned the most horrid cruelties to be perpetrated on both sides.

Vassili reigned twenty-nine years, and was succeeded by Ivan IV., who was only four years old at the death of his father, and his mother, the Princess Helen, was entrusted with the regency during his minority. She is described as a woman of extreme profligacy, even for those times; and on being reproached by her uncle for her vices, she inhumanly caused him to perish at the bottom of a dungeon in which he had been incarcerated. During five years of intestine jealousies and murderous plots, the Regent had plunged the country into such anarchy, and had so compromised not only the character, but the welfare of the people by her scandalous conduct, that some princes of the ducal family felt themselves justified in administering poison to the Regent, by which the Russians were delivered from an intolerable yoke, revolting to humanity.

The education of the young Prince during his minority served to form that ferocious character which distinguished his reign, and for which the Russians justly name him "The Terrible." He was led to the commission of the most horrible atrocities even in his youth; he was taught that the only way of asserting authority was by manifesting the extremity of his wrath, and that power consisted in oppression: his pupilage was one continued scene of horrors, the recital of which only serves to stain the historic page. Under the evil auspices of his education by such a mother, Ivan grew up to manhood: he was bold and daring in the chase, which was his great amusement; riding over old men and women, and worrying them with his dogs, was one of the pastimes recorded of him, which serves to show to

what an abject state of vassalage the lower orders of Russia were reduced. Ivan's was called a "minority of blood." At the age of sixteen he took upon himself the reins of the Empire, and was proclaimed at Moscow on the 10th January, 1546, as Tzar and Autocrat of all the Russias; and, about the same time, he married the amiable Anastatia, daughter of the Roman Ivanovitch, a princess of such extremely mild and gentle manners, that she acquired a happy ascendency over the daring and cruel mind of her husband, who was led off by degrees from deeds of ferocity to those of justice; but he was the more reclaimed by the desperate fury of the citizens of Moscow, who, smarting under his tyranny, fired the city in several places in one night. Ivan awoke amidst the fury of flame and smoke, and, accustomed as he had been to scenes of horror, this seems most completely to have alarmed him; and he was indebted to the monk, Sylvester, for appeasing the multitude, and afterwards for operating upon his own mind to abandon his former courses, that so he might rule with justice and equity. In the presence of the affrighted despot, Sylvester appeared to him as if inspired with a divine mission, which worked so powerfully on his mind, that the monk gained a complete ascendency over the Tzar. The result was an entire change in the system of government; able and upright men became his counsellors; the army was reorganized, and was now raised to the number of 300,000 men. Ivan set himself to the task of subduing the rebellious Tartars; he converted their mosques into Christian temples, and commanded the Khan to be baptized. His religious zeal was admirably adapted to ingratiate him with the people.

Ivan was the first Russian sovereign to establish a

regular militia, or troops to be always under arms; they were called "Strelitz," which signifies a man bearing a fusil, and they were exercised and disciplined in the European fashion: a part of them formed the guards for the Prince, the others were distributed amongst the irregular troops. Thus Russia, for the first time, had a regular military force ready to obey the commands of the sovereign. The Strelitz had regular pay when they were in the field, by which means Ivan doubled the army, which sometimes amounted to from two to three hundred thousand men; they were no doubt exceedingly irregular troops, but were sufficient to conquer Kasan, Astracan, and Siberia. Ivan completely subdued the Tartars of Kasan, whose city he besieged and captured by springing a mine, a mode of warfare until this time unknown in Russia: he was likewise successful in a war against the kingdom of Astracan, both of which states he added to his dominions: he was at the same time victorious against the Turks, whose army, dispatched by Selim II. against Astracan, perished on the desolate Steppes, consisting of 80,000 men.

A most important event for Russia, during the reign of Ivan, was the discovery of Siberia about the year 1560, which has subsequently proved a most valuable acquisition to the Empire, abounding as it does with inexhaustible mines of silver and gold, platina, copper, and other metals, and producing likewise the richest furs. Siberia is of immense extent—some portions of it are rich in fertility and fine in climate; whilst other portions are visited with an almost perpetual winter, which parts serve as a depôt for exiled criminals, and may, therefore, be considered as a safety valve for Russia. "Siber," in the Sclavonic language, means *Prison*, to

which criminals were banished to starve, or to shoot for their living.

The discovery was so far accidental, that a body of men first penetrated into the Ingrian Mountains to the banks of the Oleg, where they found a race of Tartars who possessed a city called Siber; but the discovery was further prosecuted by a Russian merchant, called Strogonoff, who had some salt-mines on the frontier of the country. The people from the interior came to trade with him, which stimulated his curiosity to know more of the inhabitants of this foreign land, and he sent some of his people into Siberia to collect such information, and to bring specimens of their produce. They returned to their employer with a history of wonders, and with such a quantity of rich furs, that it opened a new source of profit to the Russian merchant, who communicated all he knew to his government. But further discoveries were pursued by a Cossack adventurer, named Yermetz, who had been a desperate robber in Russia: he headed a party of his followers for new adventures in Siberia, and succeeded in penetrating to a great distance in that hitherto unknown region: they finally over-ran the country, and made themselves masters of the capital. What he should do with his perilous conquest was now the difficulty with Yermetz, since he had no means to retain the sovereign power, and many of his followers had perished in their combats with the natives. He prudently resolved to seek pardon of the Tzar for his former crimes and for those of his followers, and at the foot of the throne he tendered the vast territory of Siberia to his sovereign, which had been won by his bravery.

Ivan not only granted him a pardon for all his

offences, but honoured him with two rich coats of armour, and sent him likewise a silver cup; and furthermore, presented him with a fur cloak which he had himself worn: the last was considered the greatest merit of distinction in Russia. The Tzar took possession of his new kingdom, when the whole of Siberia, from Europe and from the Frozen Ocean to the Chinese frontiers, was annexed to the Russian Empire. Commodious towns were built, strong forts were constructed, the mines were garrisoned, the Tartars were exterminated with much cruelty, the Chinese became jealous of the Russians, and a war was the consequence. The full subjection of Siberia brought Russia into immediate contact with her powerful neighbour, China, and we will briefly revert to the relations which were some time after established between the two states.

The first Embassy to Pekin took place in 1615; and one of its members, Lawrence Lange, remained for some years in the capital, under the title of Russian Consul-General. The jealousy, however, of the Chinese expelled him; but the government had seen enough of their new friends, to have a clear understanding with them. The Emperor, Jung Tchir, demanded a ratification of the frontier line between the two empires, which had been previously arranged; and the limit was fixed by the commissioners, who met on the frontier in 1668: but, as they could not agree on the subject, a second Russian Embassy set out, with letters and presents for Pekin, in 1673, and met with no better success. The affairs of the two nations, however, soon assumed a different aspect, from the subjects of each having come into immediate contact with each other on the Amur, in the Chinese province of Dauria, the frontier. A Chinese

army advanced, of 5,000 men and 15 European guns, to Albasia, a Russian settlement; they burned all the buildings, but allowed the Russians to retreat, unmolested, to Nerchinsk. Subsequently, some conflicts took place between the respective forces; but at length a formal treaty was formed at that town, in 1689, between Golovin on the part of Russia, and some Chinese officers, assisted by Jesuits, on the other, allowing a free caravan-passage to the subjects of both Emperors.

By this treaty, the Russians remained in possession of the valuable mines of Nerchinsk, the value of which they did not perhaps at that time know. The Chinese retained the sovereignty of both banks of the Amur, and sailed up it a considerable flotilla, to give weight to their negotiations at Nerchinsk. The privilege of sending caravans to Pekin was for a long time reserved as a monopoly of the crown, but was wisely abandoned by Catherine II. in 1763, after several attempts had shown that, owing to the delays and jealous vexations of the Chinese, no profit could be derived from them. But to resume. The character of Ivan was now completely changed since the death of Anastatia, who seems to have governed his conduct, since he pursued great and wise measures up to this time, and such as reflected honour upon him.

He now became the monster of iniquity which history has attributed to him; he displayed his original nature by such deeds of atrocity, that it appears as extraordinary that he should have been allowed to do so, as that his subjects should have permitted him to live. His first act was to banish all those prudent advisers by whom he had been previously governed. He even persecuted and put to death their partisans, wher-

ever they could be found; one of them he stabbed with his own hands, whilst at prayers in the church; others he imprisoned, banished, or put to the most exquisite tortures, on the most frivolous pretences. He played the tyrant with such a perpetration of cruelties, that it is liberal to suppose he was lunatic at the time. His great delight was to witness the agonies and sufferings of those on whom, without any cause, he inflicted such tortures. He constantly carried in his hand an iron rod, with which he would chastise any messenger bringing unwelcome intelligence, and unconcernedly would read such letters whilst the blood was streaming from them. He distrusted every one, and put numbers to the rack or to death, on bare suspicion of their guilt. He was overheard to lament that he could not find victims enough for his wrath.

In this delirium of his fury, his clergy remonstrated with him with some firmness; in reply to which he used the most crafty means to silence them, by spreading a report that he intended to withdraw from Moscow, and to abandon the government. He had contrived to engraft on the extreme ignorance of the people the notion that he derived his sovereignty from God, and that there was but little distinction between God and the Sovereign. Thus, in every crisis of disaster, they looked to the Tzar for that assistance which could come from Heaven only.

Ivan retired from Moscow with all his family, taking with him numerous crosses, images, and relics of saints; this was to impose on the superstition of his subjects; and he went to the fortress of Alexandrova, situated in a gloomy forest. His departure alarmed the people, who began to think that they were deserted by Heaven itself.

A month elapsed before they had any intelligence of their Sovereign, when he sent a letter addressed to the metropolitan, and another to the people, saying that he had abandoned the helm of affairs, and left Moscow, to wander upon the earth, bidding them farewell for ever.

These letters spread great dismay amongst the inhabitants; the shops were shut, the public offices were closed, and consternation was at its height. "The Tzar," said they, "has forsaken us, and we are as sheep without a shepherd; let him punish all those who deserve it; has he not the power of life and death? the State cannot remain without a head, and we will not acknowledge any other than what God has given us." Such was the sort of political creed of those days of absolute sovereignty and slavish obedience.

A deputation of prelates and nobles hastened to Alexandrova, to prostrate themselves in the dust before Ivan, and to entreat him to return to Moscow. He affected to be moved by their prayers, and consented to their request, on the condition that they should not interfere when he found it necessary to punish conspirators against himself or family. On his return to Moscow, he addressed the people, to which he added a pious exhortation on the vanities of the world, and the necessity of the Sovereign exercising unlimited sway over his subjects. He then chose for his body-guard a force of 6,000 men from amongst the Strelitz, who comprised in their ranks all the abandoned and infamous wretches that could be hired. This favoured legion was organized to execute his merciless commands.

They went through the streets armed with daggers and hatchets, in search of victims, whom they massacred indiscriminately; the barbarities exercised by these trained

bands are most revolting to humanity. On the same day four Princes were beheaded, and a fifth impaled; the streets and squares were filled with dead bodies; and such was the unusual terror, that survivors could scarcely be found to bury the dead. The atrocities of Ivan exceed almost any thing that we are acquainted with in history; and he exercised his despotism with freer scope since his subjects invited his return to Moscow, where he did not long remain.

The tyrant again retired to his favourite retreat of Alexandrova, where he built a small town, fortified with strong walls and towers, and from whence the modern Tiberius issued his orders for the massacre of his subjects, who, having attributed to him the "divine right," they became the helpless victims of his cruelties. He would sometimes indulge himself with the sight of those atrocities; and, when they were insufficient to satisfy the monster's appetite for blood, he would order the wholesale butcheries of towns, on the most frivolous pretences causing the inhabitants to be tortured to death, or drowned. Such was the case with Torjok, Kolumna, and other places; but his great career of blood was against the Novogorodians. He marched towards them at the head of his guards, on some pretended conspiracy against his authority. Ivan entered the city, accompanied by his son, and was met by the Archbishop and clergy, bearing their miraculous crosses, who, not suspecting any danger, had made no preparation for defence.

The Tzar, equally superstitious as ferocious, said that he would first attend mass at St. Sophia. Then, addressing the Archbishop, he said, "Traitor, thou hast conspired to deliver this town to Sigismund, my enemy;

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thou darest call thyself the pastor and guide of the people, whereas thou art only a wolf, a robber, and a brigand!" He then ordered him to celebrate mass, which he would attend, with his court, and afterwards repair to the archiepiscopal palace, where they had prepared an entertainment for him. In the midst of the feast, when surrounded by his guards, he gave the signal to arrest the Archbishop, with all his servants and followers: the palace was then given up to plunder. He retired, with his son, on horseback, into a small fort, constructed purposely for the destruction of his victims, where he is said to have personally pierced them with his lance, until too fatigued to pursue his pastime. The ice of the river was broken in several places, into which the bodies were plunged by hundreds. These massacres continued for five weeks; every day, from 500 to 1000 inhabitants were brought before him, and condemned to the most revolting deaths. Scenes were witnessed of wives and husbands flung over the bridges, or pierced with long lances on their attempting to escape from the river. The bloody tragedies daily executed by order of the tyrant are almost incredible.

At the end of this time, he expressed himself to be sufficiently revenged. The churches and monasteries were all pillaged, nor did any thing escape the hands of the spoilers. His myrmidons plundered the houses and shops indiscriminately; the valuable goods of silks and furs were divided amongst the troops; great quantities were burned, and cast into the streets; plunder and murder were rampant, without respect to place or person. He then summoned the remainder of the inhabitants before him, whose ghostly forms and withered appearance bespoke the heavy judgments which had been in-

flicted upon them. He addressed them in mild terms, and even asked for their prayers that he might have a long and prosperous reign; he granted a general pardon, and took leave of them most graciously. More than 60,000 victims are supposed to have been sacrificed, by order of the tyrant, in this once powerful city. A pestilence and famine succeeded, to complete their misery, which swept off nearly all of those whom Ivan had spared. Novogorod, once the capital of Russia, now became a desert; and at this present day its former greatness is reduced to that of an ordinary village.

The Tzar returned to Moscow, carrying in his train the Archbishop and some other victims, whom he intended for a more distinguished execution. The inhabitants of Moscow trembled at his approach: a tyrant so sanguinary would endanger the safety of those institutions which the Russians began to appreciate, as the work of his predecessors. His name had inspired them with terror—his despotism was a cruel yoke, which they knew not how to bear, nor had the courage to throw off. "I am your God, as God is mine, whose throne is surrounded by archangels, as is the throne of God." Such was his blasphemous declaration when he made them tremble before him. But he trampled on them still more, by arresting, on mere suspicion, a number of persons intended for destruction, without naming a day for their general execution. Eighteen gibbets were erected, and a great fire made in the centre, over which a large copper cauldron was suspended. The inhabitants, full of despair, fled from the city, abandoning their shops and property, to be plundered by his armed legions the Strelitz.

In a few hours, Moscow was completely deserted, and left to those myrmidons of the tyrant's will, who ranged

themselves round the gibbets and blazing fires. Presently the drums began to beat, when the Tzar appeared on horseback, accompanied by his favourite son and by the devoted guards; the troop of victims followed, about three hundred in number. Ivan ordered his guards to summon the inhabitants, that they might witness the executions; but, finding they did not come, he went in person, assuring them that they had nothing to fear, when they no longer dared to disobey his commands. They came to the place of execution, when the dreadful rites began. The unfortunate wretches, enfeebled by the long tortures which they had endured, were half dead before the time arrived for execution. He obliged the nobles of the court to become the executioners.

A secretary of state was the first victim: of this unfortunate wretch, one cut off his ears, another cut out his eyes, and another the lips; in this way was he tortured until he ceased to live; then the body was decapitated, and cut into morsels. Even women and children were subjected to various tortures; and an old man was brought before the Tzar, whom he pierced with his own lance. The condemned were called upon, one after the other, and sentenced by the tyrant, sometimes with blows from a whip which he held in his hand, and then handed them over to the executioners; some were hung up by the feet, and others cut in pieces, and then, half alive, plunged into the boiling cauldron. These executions lasted for about four hours, when nearly two hundred victims, innocent of all charges brought against them, were sacrificed to the most bloodthirsty tyrant that had yet appeared on the canvass of Russian history. He would, from time to time, walk around the bleeding

victims, and, with a ferocious tranquillity, coolly examine them, and would sometimes with his sword cut a dead body in two parts.

Three days afterwards, Ivan renewed the bloody tragedy, by taking off the heads of the chiefs of some of the first families, and would sport himself afterwards frequently, in venting his rage upon their remains by hewing them in pieces; the bodies, being left, were partly destroyed by the dogs: it was one of his pastimes to throw some of the remains in the boiling cauldron, particularly such as were tenacious of life.

To turn from these disgusting details of bloody tyranny, we will now revert to the increased intercourse which had taken place between Great Britain and Russia during this reign. The English merchants were already established in Moscow; and a much shorter route to Russia had been discovered by Narin in Livonia, in 1566. Anthony Jenkinson a second time made his way to Moscow, when the knowledge of navigation had so much improved, that he completed the voyage in a month, of 750 leagues. A short time after, Queen Elizabeth deputed Thomas Randolph, Esquire, to be her ambassador to Muscovy. At Calmago, he was received by an officer of the Tzar, at whose charge he was conducted to Moscow; but on arriving there, to his great surprise, no person was appointed to receive him, not even the English merchants then resident in the city. The convulsed state of the Tzar's government, which has been already related, will account for this discourtesy.

On taking up his quarters in a convenient house, built purposely for the English ambassador, he was confined there on some suspicion which Ivan had conceived against him; nor was he released, nor admitted to an

audience with the Tzar, until after seventeen weeks had elapsed, when he was obliged to ride to court on a horse which he borrowed, his followers going on foot. The reception of the ambassador on this occasion seems to have been of an ambiguous character. In the state-room, before the presence-chamber, were seated about five hundred persons, all in rich robes, taken out of the Tzar's wardrobe for that day. They sat upon three rows of benches, but more for the appearance of show than for honour, since they were merchants only, and citizens of low grade. Our ambassador saluted them; but, finding they did not return his salute, he passed on with his head covered.

At the door of the presence-chamber, in which the Tzar was seated on his throne, he was received by two officers who had been his keepers, and led into the middle of the apartment. He was then desired to stand still and speak his message from the Queen, at whose name the Tzar stood up, and demanded of her health: then, presenting his hand to the ambassador to kiss, he addressed to him several questions. The present from the Queen had been delivered, consisting of a large silver bowl curiously engraved.

The Tzar informed him that affairs of great import would prevent him dining that day in public; "but," said he, "I will send thee thy dinner, and augment thine allowance." Dismissing the ambassador after this manner, the Tzar shortly afterwards sent a Boyar, richly apparelled, to his house, with fifty persons, each bearing meats and wines in silver dishes and bowls: these he delivered himself into the ambassador's own hands, tasting part of every dish, and of every sort of drink, to allay, as it would seem, any suspicion that might be

harboured. This being done, the ambassador sat down with his company, and partook of the repast, presenting each with a gift.

When Thomas Randolph returned to England, the Tzar sent with him an ambassador of his own, Andrew Savin, by whom he dispatched a letter to Elizabeth, soliciting from her the promise of an asylum in England, should the revolt of his subjects render it necessary for him to retire from Russia; the Tzar likewise desired that she would send him a doctor. In reply to this, the Queen sent him Dr. Robert Jacobs to be his physician, and promised, should he be driven from his own country, to grant him an asylum in England, with every honour due to his rank.

The Tzar granted a charter to the Russia Company, conferring upon them many privileges, which was sent by his ambassador, Andrew Savin, dated the 20th June, 1569, which opens with the usual religious expressions, seemingly so peculiar to Russian manifestoes even to the present time:—

"One God everlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker and preserver of all things every where, who by thy goodness dost cause all men to love the Giver of Wisdome, our only Mediatour, and leader of us all unto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lorde Jesus Christ, holy and everlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest us to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest us to enjoy our kingdome, to the happie commoditie of our lande and wealth of our people, in despite of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends. We, Ivan Vassilivitch, Emperour and Great Duke of all Russia

(for our sister Elizabeth's sake, Queen of England), have given and granted to the English merchants," &c.

From this period, the English commerce to Russia, with some few interruptions, went on flourishingly. The company established colonies in several parts of the Empire, and had even landed property, but their principal settlement was at Moscow. Their import trade consisted of broad cloths, silk and cotton stuffs, paper, sugar, and lead; and their exports of hemp, flax, cordage, tallow, tar, leather, &c. In 1582, their number of ships amounted to *nine*. The privileges granted by Ivan were in some measure expected to be reciprocated by the favours which he asked of Queen Elizabeth. But the Tzar, in the latter part of his reign, cancelled the privilege of their goods being admitted duty free, and obliged them to pay the yearly sum of two thousand pounds, instead of duties. The company were likewise obliged to pay to the King of Denmark the Sound dues, which even thus early was imposed on British commerce.

During these internal convulsions of Russia, whilst Ivan was playing the part of the merciless tyrant, his external affairs became equally convulsed. The King of Poland declared war against him, and took from him Livonia, one of the most important parts of his dominions; he lost, likewise, Courland and Lithouania to the King of Poland, who charged him with the grossest crimes, and of applying inhuman tortures to his people. Ivan crouched to him with the most abject submission; he supplicated terms, and submitted to the grossest insults offered to his ambassador who had represented him at that court. He was at length aroused by the nobles of his Court to put himself at the head of an army of 300,000 men to invade Livonia, and bring it once more under his sway;

but, whilst he was on the way, the inhabitants sent ambassadors to him to prevent the fatal blow of his invading their territory, offering considerable presents to the avaricious Tzar. Ivan received them on his throne of gold. "We come to offer you peace." "No peace," said he, "with infidels: you owe me tribute, whereas, I see here only presents." The Livonians replied that they owed nothing.

"We shall see," said Ivan, signing them to retire; and, subsequently, he invaded and ravaged the land with fire and sword; the wretched inhabitants suffered all the horrors of war and famine from the vicious tyrant, who thought he had lost time when he could not say of an enemy—"To day, by my orders, the whole of the town has been given up to the flames, and the inhabitants put to the sword." When his satellites returned to Moscow, to render him an account of their bloody deeds, they were received by him according to the outrages on humanity which they had committed. On his march into Livonia, he completed the subjugation of that country; the most terrific warfare followed, particularly the siege of Venda, where the inhabitants fired the powder magazine, and blew themselves up in the fortress in their despair, and those that attempted to escape were cut in pieces by the tyrant's troops. The King of Poland marched to the assistance of the Livonians, and their young king, Etienne, surprised the Tzar with his successes, who was obliged to form a treaty with him to quit Livonia. He then returned to his own dominions, which he found surrounded with difficulties, and threatened with the revolt of his subjects, when Ivan proposed to abdicate in favour of his son.

In 1571, a third commercial voyage was undertaken

by Anthony Jenkinson, who was detained some time at Chalmagery on account of the plague in these parts; he was at length admitted to an audience of the Tzar at Pereslaw, after his return from this campaign. During his absence, the Tartars invaded Russia once more, advancing even to Moscow, which had been nearly destroyed by them, including the house of the English embassy; many of the English were smothered in the cellars, where they had taken refuge, and great numbers of the population perished on this fearful inroad of the Tartars, and a great many of the Muscovite youths of both sexes were forced into captivity.

The Tzar sent another ambassador to Queen Elizabeth in 1582, Theodore Androvitch, relative to commercial affairs, and the Queen made choice of Sir Jerome Bowles, a gentleman of the household, to return with him to Russia. Sir Jerome was attended by a suite of more than forty persons, and they sailed for the port of St. Nicholas. By this time, the Dutch had become the rivals of the English trade in Russia—a privilege which had been formerly granted exclusively to themselves; and, in order to undermine them, the Dutch had corrupted the Muscovite Chancellor, with others of the nobles, and drawn them to espouse their cause; so well, indeed, had they succeeded in their object, that they despatched a creature of their own to meet Sir Jerome at Chalmagery to throw obstacles in his way, and to persuade him from all further attempts to proceed on his embassy.

Sir Jerome, however, persisted in making his way to the Muscovite Court. On arriving at Jaruslaw, he was received by a Boyar of high rank, attended by a large suite of persons, who presented him with a coach and two

galloways for his future journey. At two miles from Moscow, he was met by four nobles, with an escort of two hundred men. They, after a short salutation, imparted to him the message with which they were charged by their master, and then requested him to alight; Sir Jerome however, maintaining as he did throughout, a proper sense of his dignity as representative of the Queen of England, refused to alight unless they also dismounted. This gave rise to a long debate among themselves; and, although they at length acceded to his request, a dispute arose as to whose feet should first touch the ground. The pride of the Muscovite Boyars was at length obliged to yield to the obstinacy of the Englishmen, and, having delivered their message, they then embraced the ambassador, and escorted him to a house built expressly for the British embassy at Moscow.

Sir Jerome, on going to Court, honourably mounted with his suite on horses provided for them from the stables of the Tzar, was received by his guards, the Strelitz; nearly six thousand of them formed on either side in two lines. At the palace-gates, Sir Jerome was received by two noblemen in cloth of gold and rich fur caps, embroidered with pearls and precious stones, and then by five others of higher rank while on his passage, and along the walls between seven and eight hundred persons in coloured satins and gold. The chief herald of the court then received him at the door, and brought him into the hall, where the Tzar sat on his throne. Before him were placed the three crowns of Muscovy, Kasan, and Astracan—the latter province only lately subjected to his arms; and on either side stood two young Boyars richly apparelled in white, each of whom

carried a broad axe upon his shoulders; whilst around the hall were seated, on elevated benches, above a hundred of the highest nobility of the land. Having presented his hand to Sir Jerome to kiss, the Tzar inquired of the Queen's health, and pointed out the seat which had been set apart for him, about ten paces distant. Sir Jerome, however, still persisting in his dignity, not thinking that it was a becoming place for the representative of his royal mistress, stepped forward, which the chancellor seeing, went to meet him, and would have taken his letters. Sir Jerome, withholding them, gravely resisted the attempt, saying that the Queen of England had directed the letters to the Tzar, and, advancing, he delivered them into his own hands.

The Tzar, after retiring shortly to another chamber, where he held conference with some of his council, summoned Sir Jerome thereto to dinner. In the midst of the repast, the Tzar, standing up, drank a deep carouse to the health of the Queen of England, and sent Sir Jerome a great bowl of Rhenish wine to pledge him. The entertainment was soon over, and the ambassador was dismissed. Sir Jerome remained some time at Moscow, and was frequently sent for to the court, to treat about the affairs of the mission, which chiefly concerned the commercial interests of the English merchants. At which conferences, it would appear that the Tzar required certain things adverse to those interests, and favourable to Russia. To those attempted exactions, Sir Jerome repeatedly urged objections with all due reverence and courtesy; nor would he yield on any point exceeding his instructions. Upon this occasion, the despotic sovereign, not accustomed to be thwarted, expressed his high displeasure, particularly that the ambassador re-

mained covered, saying, "Knowest thou not how I treat insolent ambassadors?" "Prince," replied Sir Jerome fiercely, "I know that my Queen, whom I represent here, never takes off her hat to any prince in the world." "You are a brave man," replied Ivan, and took him into favour; but not so with the Polish ambassador, whose hat, on a similar occasion, he ordered to be nailed to his head.

During Sir Jerome's being at the Muscovite Court, the Tzar was one day unable to restrain himself at the continued firmness of the Englishman; he broke out into a violent fit of wrath, and with a stern countenance told him, that he did not consider the Queen of England to be his equal. At these reflections upon the dignity and honour of his royal mistress, Sir Jerome, irrespective of any danger that might arise to himself personally, unwilling to allow of any thing derogatory to her Majesty, even from so exalted a personage as the Tzar, replied with undaunted courage—"That the Queen, his mistress, was equal to any Sovereign in Europe, however great he might think himself, and that she possessed, moreover, the power and means to resent the insults of all her enemies whatever." "Ay," said Ivan, "what sayest thou, then, of the Kings of France and Spain?" "I hold her," said Sir Jerome, "equal to either." "And what, then, to the Emperor of Germany?" "Her father," replied Sir Jerome, "had the German Emperor in his pay."

This answer so much irritated the Tzar, that he told him —"Were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of doors." "You may," replied Sir Jerome, "do your will with me, for I am now at your mercy; but the Queen of England will know how to avenge any injury offered to

her ambassador." Upon this, the Tzar dismissed him suddenly, and Sir Jerome, possessing still the same undaunted mien, with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the Tzar and withdrew. Notwithstanding his outbreak of wrath, and the unpleasant turn which the mission of Sir Jerome Bowles had taken, the Tzar, when he had recovered the equanimity of his temper, addressed those that stood near him in the highest praise of the English ambassador, expressing the wish that he had so good a servant; and shortly after he despatched his chief secretary to Sir Jerome to tell him, whatever had passed in words between them, he, nevertheless, entertained the highest respect for the Queen of England, and would shortly dismiss him home with honours and full satisfaction. In the mean time, he would much enlarge his entertainment whilst in Moscow.

But the most singular request of Ivan "the Terrible," as sent by his ambassador to England, was, that he was desirous to marry one of the noble ladies of England, and he demanded the hand of Lady Mary Hastings in marriage. Both the lady and her family declined such high honours; but now, through Sir Jerome, he expressed a desire to take to wife one of the Queen of England's kinswomen, either by special embassy, or, if necessary, by coming to England in person with his treasures; and such was the high esteem in which the Tzar now held Sir Jerome for his noble conduct, that those Boyars who were publicly favoured with the friendship of the English ambassador, rose in the estimation of the Tzar above all others, whilst those who had opposed and endeavoured to undermine him in his opinion, lost the former favour of their sovereign. So openly did Ivan evince this sentiment for Sir Jerome, that he actually beat Shalkan,

the chancellor, in the most severe manner, and threatened to exterminate his whole race.

The different embassies from England to the Muscovite court, led to a treaty of commerce in 1559, which was signed by the English ambassador on the part of Elizabeth, which formed the basis of the "Russian Company," when a free passage was granted through Russia to Persia to the English merchants. Some of the stipulations are curious enough. The Tzar was the first merchant in his state, and an immense magazine was established at Moscow, in which all the wares were deposited from the east to the west. The magazine was named the "Tzar's treasure," and the minister of finance, or the treasurer, there inspected and valued the wares deposited, and took the duty imposed in kind or in money, at the arbitrary price fixed by the crown, of those goods on which it reserved the monopoly from the obligation to deposit. The English merchants were exempted by the treaty from this monopoly, so far as coarse goods were only concerned. Silks, jewels, and other precious objects, were obliged to go round by Moscow for inspection. One clause of the treaty, however, prohibited the members of the company from entering into similar agreements with any Russian subjects.

On these conditions, the monopoly of the trade, by way of Archangel, was granted to the English, who were allowed to coin their own money, to work mines, and to be judged by their own laws within the empire. But the trade, by way of Narva and the Baltic, was reserved, and left open to other nations, as it had previously been. Before the close of Ivan's reign, the English merchants, however, were no longer in possession of the Archangel trade, and their freedom from duties was, likewise,

abridged; but the Tzar having succeeded in opening the mouth of the Volga, the English merchants penetrated by way of Russia to Persia, and they had the credit of opening the long closed trade across the Caspian. The English factory at Moscow is described as having been a handsome stone building. Three other establishments were formed in the interior, likewise belonging to them, where the goods shipped for Persia were re-embarked, and those destined for Moscow were forwarded by the Twerza, or by land. The trade was in this way continued by English adventurers, who enjoyed alternately a complete or partial monopoly, until the reign of the Tzar, Alexis, who, indignant, it is said, at the execution of Charles I., expelled them suddenly from his territories in 1648.

Cromwell restored the connection between the two countries, but could not obtain a renewal of the monopoly, or of the permission to have factories in the interior; the consequence was, that as the trade was neither so regular or profitable as before, the English gradually withdrew it, and in 1659 it is remarked, that only one English vessel entered Archangel, whilst the Dutch sent twenty-two ships to that port. At the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great, the number of English vessels did not exceed forty or fifty, whilst, during this reign, they increased to a hundred and forty-nine by the year 1702.

We shall not dwell much longer on the reign of Ivan "the Terrible," whose atrocities were such that they cannot be recapitulated by the historian; they present the most revolting picture of fallen man in this monster almost unparalleled; his cruelties carried him beyond all bounds of reason, and, in the midst of his horrible

excesses, he did not fail to pursue both his devotions and his amusements. His palace presented an alternate round of religious services and amusements; he assumed the place, and even usurped the attributes of Deity, and identified himself with the Creator. He impressed upon the minds of the people a sense of his supremacy, by making them believe that blows and injuries from his hands were heavenly punishments, to be received with submission and gratitude.

On one occasion, he was visited by a Boyar, who bowed reverently to the ground, as was customary. "God save thee, my dear Boris!" exclaimed the Tzar; "thou deservest a proof of my favour," when he took a knife and cut off one of his ears; and, such was the slavish state of passive obedience amongst his subjects, that the poor wretch, far from exhibiting symptoms of the agony which he endured, thanked the Tzar for his gracious favour, and wished him a happy reign. Ivan exhausted all the varieties of slaughter, and his chief pastimes were in keeping with the ferocity of his nature. Bears were procured for his amusement, and he would let slip two or three of the hungry and irritated animals when, from his window, he saw a group of people collected in the streets; the flight and cries of the victims would afford him the greatest amusement. Such was the frenzy of his mind, that he trampled under foot all the respected usages of Russia, where polygamy was held in abhorrence; he married seven wives, which, according to the Greek church, is a crime of the greatest magnitude.

But the measure of Ivan's iniquities was nearly full: he suspected his favourite son of conspiring with the Boyars against him, to hurl him from the throne, and, summoning him into his presence, "Rebel!" said he; "you are

leagued with the Boyars to dethrone me!" and then struck him with an iron rod which he always carried about with him. The poor prince fell to the ground weltering in his blood. The feelings of the father then prevailed over those of the tyrant—the enormity of his crime came upon him—and, in an agony of despair, he threw himself upon the murdered youth, and appealed to heaven to recall the life which he had nearly extinguished: but in vain. The retaliation came upon him with all the terrors of divine vengeance. The prince was immediately removed to the monastery of Alexandrosky, where he died in four or five days. The wretch now abandoned himself to despair; the power of conscience was the wrath of heaven; he would rise at midnight, and utter the most piercing cries; no rest could he find, until exhausted nature, at times subdued, enabled him to get some short intervals of sleep. He resolved to fly from Moscow, and to bury himself in a monastery; remorse devoured him, like a cruel tyrant, from whom he could never escape; he attempted to appease it by making large grants to monasteries and other religious institutions, that they may pray for the repose of his soul, as he said, "to the God of Armies, who has so visibly protected me in the different wars which I have undertaken; to expiate the inevitable errors of Princes charged with a vast empire, my desire is to render up my last sigh under the venerable habit of St. Basil, and under the name of Jonas." But there could be no repose for his soul; the memory of his victims, who seemed to be amply revenged, now tyrannized over it.

In March, 1584, he was seized with a dangerous illness: he endeavoured to make some restitution to his subjects, whom he had so grossly outraged, by ordering

the liberation of all prisoners not charged with capital offences, and to remit a portion of those taxes with which they had been oppressed: he appointed counsellors to watch the minority of his son Feodore, with some instructions for his government: his strength now declined, and in his delirium he was constantly calling on his murdered son—sometimes seemingly conversing with him in accents of tenderness. The astrologers predicted that on the 17th of the month he would die: he ordered them to be put to death for the prediction, but on the same day the poor wretch dropped into eternity, "with all his imperfections on his head," after a reign of thirty-four years.

Of the character of the tyrant whose reign so stains the annals of Russia, sufficient has been proved that he stands almost unparalleled in history: he is supposed to have sacrificed more victims to his cruelty than did even Caligula, or Nero, and to have exceeded in refinement of horrors Agha Mahomet Khan, who built pyramids with the heads of his victims, some remains of which are yet to be seen in Persia;* and no remorse nor reason seem to have visited Ivan until his last parricidal act; he can only be likened to a demon, let loose from the lower regions to warn mankind of the horrors of those regions.

In 1584, Feodore I., son of Ivan the Terrible, succeeded to the throne of Russia. He was a weak prince, both in body and mind. His father appointed three Boyars as the members of his council, the chief of whom was Boris Goudonoff, a Tartar, who played a conspicuous part in Russian history. To Shalkan, the chancellor, the government was immediately committed. The

* *See* "Three Years in Persia," Vol. I. p. 250.

English ambassador, Sir Jerome Bowles, had not then quitted Moscow, with whom we will now show the concluding scene. He was soon made to feel the Chancellor's resentment for the indignities which he had suffered from the late Tzar on Sir Jerome's account. Shalkan ordered the ambassador to remain a close prisoner, and confined him to his house for nine weeks. At length, he was sent for, and conducted with every studied neglect to the council-chamber. He was told by the Chancellor, that the new Tzar would condescend to no other agreement than existed between his father and the Queen of England before his embassy; and, ordering him and his suite to be disarmed, he conducted him, with many affronts, to the new Tzar; for which insults there remained to Sir Jerome no help but patience.

Feodore repeated to the ambassador the same things which the Chancellor had said before, and offered him a letter for the Queen. Sir Jerome, however, knowing that it contained nothing to the purpose of his mission, refused at first to take charge of it; until, seeing the danger growing more imminent, and that he was neither suffered to reply nor to call his interpreter to his aid, he submitted, and took the letter. Shalkan sent word to the ambassador to hasten his departure, which he did; but he experienced so many affronts as to excite his apprehensions of some mischief on the journey, the Chancellor having appointed only one officer of rank to conduct him to the ship. Indignant at such treatment, Sir Jerome called upon the English merchants, in the Queen's name, to accompany him; but such was the danger that they feared to do so. Arming himself and his suite in the best way they could, to defend themselves from all outrage, Sir Jerome reached the coast at

St. Nicholas in safety. On arriving there, he resolved to show his sense of the indignities to which he had been subjected, by returning some of the affronts which he had received. Having every thing ready to embark, he selected four of his most courageous and discreet men, to take the Tzar's letter and disgraceful present, and deliver them at the lodging of the officer who had been his escort: this they effected safely; though followed by a tumultuous crowd, who endeavoured to force them to take them back.

Notwithstanding the uncourteous dismissal of her ambassador, Queen Elizabeth, yielding to the prayers of the merchants of London, sent another embassy to the young Tzar, Feodore; when Thomas Randolph was again ordered by her Majesty to represent her at the Court of Moscow, and renew those relations which had been somewhat disturbed by the intrigues of the Dutch. The embassy was well received, and it was noticed that the young Prince evinced some respect for letters and intellectual entertainments: the art of printing had been introduced into Russia during his father's reign. Feodore, hearing of the great learning and repute of John Doe, the English mathematician, invited him to Moscow, with the offer of £2,000 per annum, and also a thousand marks from Prince Boris, with further flattering considerations, such as to be considered one of the chief men of the land, and to be treated with the same honours; he was likewise to receive his meals from the Tzar's table. Doe rejected these dazzling offers; preferring the safer, though less dazzling, patronage of his own sovereign.

This reign was distinguished chiefly by the acts of Boris Goudonoff, the Tartar, whose sister Feodore had

married; which gave the brother-in-law an almost unbounded influence over him. Boris was a man of large wealth, which enabled him to have great power over the poorer nobility. His ambition soon became apparent, that he not only sought to govern the sovereign, but to upset the throne itself. There was then one remaining obstacle, even if he should succeed in removing the Tzar—namely, that he had a brother, Dimitri, a prince of tender age, and the last branch of the Rurik family, to whom the Russians were much attached. Boris sent the young Prince and his mother to Uglitch, a town some distance from Moscow, where assassins were employed to murder him, which the vigilance of his mother for some time prevented, until at length Danilo, their chief, succeeded in covering him with mortal wounds, whilst at play in the court. Boris caused it to be reported that he had died from fever: but of the real cause of his demise some reports having been spread in the town, he caused a great number of the inhabitants to be put to death; the assassin was condemned to die, and the mother of the young Prince was sent to a convent. The Tzar was told that his brother had cut his own throat, which greatly afflicted him; but the truth penetrated amongst the people at Moscow, where, by the order of Boris, an insurrection was made, and the inhabitants were massacred by the Strelitz of the Tzar, by the order of Boris. After a short reign, of thirteen years only, during which time, Boris Goudonoff conducted the government of Russia, Feodore died, as was strongly suspected, through the instrumentality of his minister; others say of an habitual malady, which brought him thus early to the grave. His widow retired to a monastery, where her brother Boris followed

her; and, the better to conceal his designs, he professed desire to devote himself to the monastic life.

The throne was now vacant—the race of Rurik had terminated. Feodore was the last sovereign of the Varangian dynasty, which had lasted seven hundred and thirty-two years, and Russia, for the first time, became an elective monarchy. Feodore was the fifty-sixth sovereign of an uninterrupted line. The Greek Church in Russia had now become independent of the patriarch at Constantinople, and through the influence of Boris, a Russian metropolitan, Job, was chosen as the head of the Church in 1588.

The nobles and grandees of the Russian Empire next assembled to elect a Sovereign to the vacant throne. The election began; the people looked up to the nobles, the nobles to the grandees, and the grandees to the patriarch, who, mindful of what he owed to Boris, instantly proclaimed him, and his name was echoed throughout the assembly. All obeyed the impulse which the patriarch directed, and but one name was echoed; it was that of Boris, who had retired to a monastery to shelter himself, as he said, from the burthens of state. When the nobles waited upon him, he refused the proffered honour, and they proceeded to another election, which only confirmed the first. Then the patriarch, preceded by the clergy, bearing crosses and images, proceeded to the monastery, and implored the Tzarina to endeavour to prevail with her brother to accept the proffered dignity, to which Boris was finally won over, as he said, by the entreaties of his sister; and, accompanied by the Boyars, the patriarch, and the people, he went and took possession of the ancient palace of the Tzars.

Russia had at this time attained some considerable

rank amongst the nations of the earth. The inhabitants were estimated at 12,000,000, over a territory of 125,000 square miles, being an enormous increase since the reign of Ivan III., in 1462. The people, although still in a very rude state, were much improved by that frequent intercourse with the East, which had introduced amongst them Asiatic customs of wearing the beard and the long robe; it was like engrafting luxury upon barbarism—ill-assorted. The Russian women were subjected to the Eastern vassalage, and were kept in seclusion; they were seldom abroad even in the churches, and were treated more like animals than rational creatures. The power of the husband over them was absolute.

The laws of Russia were still of the rudest sort, but severe; and justice was openly bought in the most venal way. Single combat was often resorted to by contending parties; and, if it happened that they were unequal to decide their cause in this way, public champions were hired for the purpose, who were always ready to enter the lists, in proportion to the pay awarded them; although in the combat by duel, amongst strangers, they were deemed to be murderers, and punished with death. To stimulate the courage of the people, pugilism was much encouraged amongst them; their fetes and holidays were celebrated in this way: and so impetuous were the Russians in this exercise, that they seldom left off until some were dangerously wounded, sometimes even to death. They imitated the Asiatics in the construction of bazaars, or public markets, which were formerly unknown in Russia; they are to this day the best resorts for trade at Moscow, but not so in the modern capital. The commerce at this period was very active from the East, consisting of imports of great value. Commerce is always

the pioneer of civilization; and these Eastern luxuries which adorned the court, were cumbrous, though sumptuous. We have a faint glimpse of the Russian court, at the audience given to the English ambassador, where a dead silence reigned amongst the courtiers in the presence of the Tzar—precisely a copy of that Asiatic despotism where a person presuming to speak, without being addressed, would possibly forfeit his head.

It is difficult to trace much progress of the arts in Russia up to this time, which may be thus accounted for—that in the earlier periods of her history the people were so much engaged in warfare between the rival Princes; and when, finally, the power became consolidated under one Sovereign Prince, Ivan III., they were then subject to so despotic a rule, that no beams of light could penetrate amongst them; and, when the English trade was introduced at Archangel and St. Nicholas, the Russians, in their ignorance, imagined that they were supplying the whole of Europe with timber and hemp.

There were no titles in those days beyond those of Princes and Boyars. The latter were obliged to serve in the army at the command of the Sovereign; consequently they had a very active life, and knew little or nothing of repose. Whenever the order came, wherever they may be, whether in bed or at table, they immediately took arms and prepared to depart; their arms still consisted principally of the lance, the javelin, the hatchet, the bow, &c. Their undisciplined hordes, although fierce in the attack, were easily repulsed; but they were extremely patient and sober, and capable of enduring great fatigue in encountering the rigours of the climate. They were at this time the largest army in Europe, with a most efficient artillery. Their banners, which

were always blessed by the priests, had emblazoned on them the image of St. George; their bands of music consisted principally of trumpets and cymbals. Their principal combatants were the Tartars, so that discipline had little to do on either side; physical strength and endurance were the principal qualities required.

The Russians had a superstitious respect for the "divine right" of their Sovereign Prince, even from Rurik to the present time. The Prince himself was educated with all the tenets of arbitrary controul of the legitimate dynasty; hence, he exacted the most servile obedience of his subjects, which was deemed the paramount virtue amongst them, and which was never more conspicuous than in the reign of Ivan IV. The Boyars were repelled from too close a familiarity with the Tzar; the clergy were kept down by him, and sometimes oppressed; the people were led to believe that the Sovereign was almost the only source of life, which strongly again resembles the Asiatic rule, where the subject says, "I am your slave, and all I have is yours" (common parlance in Persia).

The people were at this period, as a compact body, nothing in power; the only mode of communication amongst them politically, if it may be so called, was by meeting at noon in the public square, there to discuss public or private affairs, and from whence their children derived the only practical education which the customs of the country conferred. But the myrmidons of Ivan the Terrible soon dispersed them, lest they might engage in conspiracies against the tyrant; they were thus deprived of all power of co-operation, and were, furthermore, easily sacrificed by their brutal Sovereign, as suited his revenge or caprice. So low was their con-

dition in the scale of humanity, that he could oppress them to the lowest depth of baseness, and convert them from rational beings to the mere animals for his sport and destruction. But at this period, when the race of their ancient princes was extinct, and the upper classes had to choose for themselves a Sovereign, this new exercise of power gave a national importance to Russia, to which she was as yet a stranger, and conferred upon her privileges, for the first time, which were subsequently often exercised by that of an elective monarchy.

About this period of the Russian history, we get some glimpses of the growth of the Empire under that despotic government which the people had so cordially assented to; they held that their lives and fortunes depended entirely on the supreme will of the Sovereign. "God and the Prince" was their motto, and nothing could exceed their zeal for his service; to them he was the image of the Divinity, whose moral power surpassed that of all other sovereigns. He had an immense military force, supported at a very small expense, of which the cavalry formed the greater part; their arms consisted of bows and arrows, hatchets, long spears, and sometimes swords and pikes; the guns, which were founded by foreign workmen, were only used on the field of battle, or for the defence and siege of towns; military tactics, or even discipline, had been but little introduced amongst them; the attacks of the troops were furious, and they sought generally rather to surround the enemy than to come to any direct engagement with them. They were soon dispersed, and took to flight; in this they resembled the Turkish troops, with whom they had subsequently the most to contend. Their baggage was transported on the backs of horses, since they had scarcely any waggons; the officers

alone had tents; the soldiers would construct rude huts, covered with the branches of trees, for their temporary resting-places; all the regiments had their musicians and trumpets; and on the standard of the Grand Prince was emblazoned, "Joshua arresting the going down of the sun."

The jurisprudence of the country was simple and easily administered, the supreme authority of which was vested exclusively in the sovereign, who appointed all the judges, and even the bailies of the villages; no one could condemn a delinquent to death but himself, but they were exposed to frightful tortures, to extort confessions of crimes, suited only to these barbarous ages. In the struggles which had been so long going on between the Russians and the Tartars, all sorts of corporeal punishments were resorted to, of which the Knout was the most prominent. The commerce of Russia was at this time very flourishing. The merchants of Europe brought their ingots of silver, cutlery, wines, cloths, &c., and those of Asia brought carpets, cloth of gold, and silk stuffs, pearls, and precious stones; the exports consisted principally of furs, leather, wax, and skins of all sorts. Foreign merchants were obliged to exhibit first their goods at Moscow before the Grand Prince, when he took and paid for what he required, and then gave permission to sell the remainder. A slight duty was imposed on both the imports and exports. Russia was celebrated at this time for the abundance of its honey and for its fish, particularly the sturgeon; the great rivers of the country not only supplied this fish, but facilitated the transport of merchandize to the inland towns, but her seaports were limited to the Frozen Ocean, only some considerable ships would sail occasionally from the mouth of the Dwina, where the port of Arch-

angel is now established. The coinage of money was now begun at Moscow, consisting of silver roubles and copper dengas, stamped with the effigy of the Grand Prince seated on a chair, and one of his subjects prostrating himself before him. There was no other gold coin previously in circulation than the ducats from Venice, or the florins from Rome, of which the value varied.

The great territory of Russia was as yet a desert, compared to other countries, from its thin population, the vast steppes and thick forests which intersected it. She was still in her infancy of civilization, and the dangers and difficulties of travelling over the country were great, from the wretched roads and the frail bridges which the traveller must pass. But this was much improved on the approach to Moscow, which was at this time a considerable city, with numerous churches and palaces of stone; the many towers of the Kremlin, and the domes of its monasteries, gave it the aspect of the capital of a great empire, which then contained one thousand five hundred houses, principally of wood. It was a place of great activity of the home trade, and in the winter the markets were held on the frozen surface of the Moskwa; a rigid police was established to prevent the people going out after night without a lantern, and then only with the most pressing motive. The condition of the people was now much ameliorated since the period of the eleventh century, when they enjoyed no rights of a man or of a citizen; but their masters could dispose of them as of any other property, and could take their lives without being subject to any authority, whilst at this time the law alone could condemn a slave to death. Although slavery prevailed to a considerable degree, yet the condition of the slaves was so much improved that they would

sometimes return from liberty to bondage; in the former case, they had to care for themselves, of which they were incapable, but in the latter case they were cared for, which was done with great justice and humanity.

The manners and habits of the people are involved in much obscurity, and we get only slight glimpses of what they seem to have borrowed from the Easterns, particularly that of the seclusion of the females, which savours somewhat of the Oriental harem; they would seldom appear in public, even at church, and feared to show themselves to any men except those of their own family. Marriages were contracted for the young people by their parents without their being consulted, or even, perhaps, seeing each other. The dowery consisted of rich clothes, precious ornaments, slaves, and horses, which the husband was expected to return after the marriage, or to pay their value in money. Infidelity was common amongst people who married without affection, and were bound together only by the ties of interest. It is astonishing that, amongst a semi-barbarous people, the pride of station and fortune should have been carried so far in Russia. At this time, the Boyars and other nobles were very proud of their rank; they would not admit inferior persons to enter the courts of their abode on horseback, nor to tie up their horses at the door. The great men and the rich merchants were polite amongst themselves; when a stranger entered their apartments, he would first salute the image of the patron saint, which is to be found in every house, then crossing himself, and saying with a loud voice, "O Lord, have mercy upon us!" he would turn towards the master of the house, and, saluting him, would say, "May God grant you good health!" Then they would embrace and

make many profound salutations to each other, when, seating themselves, the ordinary conversation of the day would be begun. There was much hospitality exercised amongst them; foreign wines and beer of the country were profusely drank, and intoxication generally terminated the feast. The provisions were abundant, and so cheap as perhaps scarcely any other country could then compete with, consisting of game of all sorts, taken in hunting, fish, and meats of every kind. The Grandees were distinguished by their rich dresses, which were large and long, trimmed with fur, and ornamented with a rich collar, and some were buttoned in the front throughout; their boots were of red morocco with iron heels, and they wore caps of white or black fur, according to the rank or riches of the wearer. Their houses were small, and built principally of wood, without any furniture beyond that of a bench around the walls, on which they sat and slept, and those of the Grandees were principally built within an enclosed court, similar to the Oriental custom. They were not distinguished by any ornaments outside; the vestibules were spacious, but the doors were so low that persons were generally obliged to stoop before entering them. The people were extremely superstitious, and given up to the worship of saints and relics—the number of the former could only be added to by a royal proclamation; and when the Sovereign was satisfied with the authenticity of the miracle said to have been performed, orders were given for the new saint to be enrolled on the Russian kalendar, the bells of the churches announced the ceremony, the priests marched in procession with the people, singing "Te Deum;" great numbers of impotent and sick crowded around them, to be cured by the new saint of their diseases.

CHAPTER IV.

Boris Goudonoff—his Election to the Throne—his Coronation—Arrival of the Prince of Sweden in Russia—his splendid Reception—Banishment and Death—The Prince of Denmark Visits Moscow—intended Son-in-law of the Tzar—Magnificence of the Russian Court—Illness and Death of the Prince—Another attempt of the Tzar to Marry his Daughter—Dreadful Famine in Russia—Boris drives the People to Rebellion—an Impostor disturbs his Government—Usurpation of Dimitri—Death of Boris—Dimitri acknowledged as Tzar, and Crowned—his Offending the People—Death of Dimitri—Chouiski elected Tzar—his Brief Reign—retires to a Monastry—an Interregnum—Russia Invaded both by the Poles and Swedes—the Patriot Pojarski—the Invaders finally Expelled from Russia—Origin of the Romanoff family—Mikhail Romanoff elected Tzar—his Prosperous Reign—his Wars with Poland and Sweden—Progress of the Russian Empire—Mikhail's Death—Superstition of this Sovereign—Alexis succeeds him—Morosof, his Minister—Oppressions of his Government—the People Revolt—Morosof retires—a Pretender to the Throne—his Execution—Alexis declares War against Poland—his rapid Successes—Revolt of the People—the Patriarch Nicon—Insurrection of the Don Cossacs—Death of the Tzar—his Character—Feodore III. proclaimed Tzar—his cautious Policy—Destroys the Archives of the Nobles—his Short Reign—Ivan V., an imbecile Prince—Revolt of the People—The Tzarina flies to the Troitza Convent with her Son, Peter—Their narrow Escape from the Strelitz—Ivan and Peter Crowned jointly—Peter Banished by the Princess Sophia to Preobazinski—Farther Revolts of the Strelitz—Disbanded by the Regent—the young Tzar at his Village—Lefort, a Genevese, introduced to him—Peter's Military and Maritime Education—the Founder of the Russian Navy—his Education by Lefort—his Marriage—Quarrel with the Regent—Assumes the sole Sovereign Authority.

After the death of Feodore, the Tzarina convoked the Patriarch and Nobles, declaring to them the late Tzar's wishes that she should renounce the world, and adopt the monastic life, which she now formally did,

declining any share in the government. They would have unanimously elected her for their Sovereign, which she persisted in refusing. She retired to a convent at Moscow, and took the name and habit of Alexandra. They then proceeded to elect a Tzar, as already stated; and, through the influence of the Patriarch Job, a creature of his own, Boris Goudonoff was proclaimed Tzar, in 1598. He was the first Sovereign seated on the throne of Russia by the elective power of the people, which proved fatal to the interests both of the country and its inhabitants. Russia enjoyed neither stability nor prosperity until the "hereditary right" was again established. Elective monarchies, even in the most civilized states, have ever proved a cumbrous sort of machinery for raising a sovereign to the throne; but among the then semi-barbarous people of Russia, who were too ignorant to appreciate the franchise, and too uncivilized to wield it; it proved the greatest misfortune that had happened to them since the Tartar invasion. This we proceed to show by her history that follows.

Boris was sensible that, as he did not hold the sovereignty by divine right, so it would not have much hold on the people; there were, besides, some collateral branches of the House of Rurik still living, particularly the Romanoffs, and these gave him some apprehensions: he became, therefore, jealous and suspicious of the nobles, but applied himself with great assiduity to win over the people, to whom he showed himself a wise and paternal ruler. He likewise ingratiated himself with the troops, and did much to extend his popularity, so as to crush the nobles, whose opposition he much dreaded. He gave splendid entertainments, and provided frequent amusements, for the soldiers and the citizens—a con-

descension from a Sovereign quite unknown until his time. His first act of warfare was to punish the Nogai Tartars—a half-civilized horde, but brave and martial, amongst whom the usual march of fire and massacre made terrible havoc. They had threatened to invade his territory, but were soon chastised; on which occasion Boris became a great favourite with the troops, by his liberal donations amongst them, so that every soldier received some mark of his munificence.

The new Sovereign sought, by various other methods, to establish himself on the elective throne: amongst others, he was crowned with great magnificence, taking God to witness, at the Mass, that he would not suffer any of his subjects to languish in misery—that he would part with all he had to relieve the distressed. These professions won greatly on the people. The ceremony of the coronation is thus described:—The night preceding it was consecrated to prayer, in all the churches; in the cathedral, a throne was elevated, having twelve steps; the same was gorgeously covered with velvet, ornamented with gold, and sparkling with precious stones; at the left of the throne was the Patriarch's seat, less rich, but likewise covered with velvet, ornamented with gold. The Tzar went to prayer in a private chapel in the palace, before going to the cathedral, to which he was accompanied by the nobles, wearing caps of black fox skin, and sumptuous robes, with their collars of pearls and diamonds, and enamelled chains around their necks. The Strelitz were ranged along the road.

On arriving at the door of the cathedral, the Prince bowed three times, and, turning towards the Patriarch, received his benediction, who descended from his seat and blessed him with the holy water and with the true

cross; when they both took their places. The Tzar then addressed a discourse to the Patriarch, to which he replied; when he descended from the throne, and was clothed in the imperial mantle by two of the principal nobles of the court. The Patriarch again blessed him three times. Three Archimandrites then approached, bearing the crown, the sceptre, and the imperial globe; these were received by the Archbishop, who gave them to the Patriarch; and he, approaching the Tzar, put the crown on his head, the sceptre in his right hand, and the globe in his left. The Tzar, decorated with these ornaments, received the congratulations of the clergy, to which he replied by a slight inclination of his head. The Patriarch then conducted him to his throne, and, after delivering a discourse on the duties of the Sovereign, he began the Liturgy: this finished, the Patriarch anointed him with the holy oil, first touching his forehead, then his two ears, his lips, his fingers, his neck, his shoulders, and his arms; saying after each anointing, "This is the seal and the gift of the Holy Spirit;" and during seven days the Tzar did not wash any of those parts which had been thus anointed. After these unctions, the Communion was administered.

After Mass, the Tzar, clothed in his imperial vestments and ornaments, thus gorgeously arrayed, went to visit two different churches. On his entrance, the Bishop threw some powder of gold on his head. The same ceremony was observed when he retired by one of the grandees of the empire: this custom is intended to symbolize abundance and riches. On the day of the coronation, the Tzar gave a grand banquet to the patriarch, the chiefs of the clergy, and the principal nobles of his court. Boris Goudonoff did much to en-

lighten the people, by inviting medical men from Germany, and by introducing other European knowledge into Russia; he cultivated the friendship of foreign princes, and invited to his court Gustavus, son of Erik, King of Sweden: the Tzar received him with right royal magnificence. It seems astonishing that Boris, the Tartar, bred in a camp, should have had such taste for the splendours of royalty; but he had studied his people well: he saw that they must be dazzled by extrinsic show, that so they may forget his "divine right." Some great nobles were sent to the frontier to receive the Prince, who was clothed in robes of velvet, and conducted to Moscow in a chariot richly decorated. He was presented to the Tzar in the midst of a brilliant court, and a large palace was assigned to him for his residence, with officers and servants to wait upon him. After the family of Boris, Gustavus held the first rank in Russia. The Tzar had an only daughter, Xenie, whom he intended for his spouse—the policy of Boris being not only to engraft his family amongst the royal houses of Europe, but to acquire that influence in Livonia, and other states, which Russia subsequently obtained by conquest. But Gustavus refused to lend himself to the policy of the Tzar, and, furthermore, offended him, by refusing to adopt the Greek faith, in order to marry his daughter. The match was therefore broken off; and Gustavus was banished to the town of Ouglitche, and kept prisoner in the palace which he inhabited: from thence he was transported to Kachin, where he died in 1607, complaining bitterly of his fate. The Tzar then invited another Prince to visit him at Moscow, John, the brother of the King of Denmark, whom Boris intended for his son-in-law. The honours

rendered to him were much greater than those to Gustavus.

On his arrival at Moscow, he traversed the city on horseback, accompanied by the Boyars and the nobles in his own train, and was received with acclamations by the people, as the intended son-in-law of the Tzar. On reaching the palace, he was conducted by two high dignitaries to the decorated hall, where sat the Tzar and his son, Feodore, richly attired in robes of velvet, embroidered with pearls, the Tzar having a crown of diamonds on his head. They rose immediately to receive their royal guest, and tenderly embraced him. The Tzar was seated on a throne of gold; and Feodore and the Duke, who was received as one of his family, were placed on either side of him: but the bride-elect, the beautiful Xenie, was not visible—and, according to the Eastern custom, the intended bridegroom must content himself with hearing the eulogiums on her beauty, since there was no possibility of seeing her before marriage. The Tzarina and her daughter were so placed, that they could see their royal guest and Xenie's intended husband.

On the following day, the young Princess went to the Convent of Troitza, there to wait the celebration of the nuptials, accompanied by her family, including the Tzar, where they remained nine days, chiefly employed in offering prayers on the tomb of St. Sergius, to bless the union of Xenie and John, Prince of Denmark. But the espousals were *not* to take place. The young Prince was taken suddenly ill, soon after his arrival, with a fever, so fatal in the north, which baffled all the skill both of his own medical attendants and those of Russia. The Tzar was profoundly afflicted, and visited him from the convent with his son, Feodore; every effort was made to

save his valuable life; Heaven was wearied with prayers, and with promises which could never have been fulfilled. The young Prince, at the age of nineteen, died within fifteen days of his arrival in Russia, to the inexpressible grief of the Tzar and his family, and of those around him, with whom he was a great favourite. The obsequies were celebrated with all the honours which Russia could offer. The Tzar stripped himself of his royal robes, and mourned in sackcloth; whilst the intended bride—the beautiful Xenie—had to abandon the garland of roses, and to deck herself with the cypress wreath. Even after this second disappointment, Boris did not abandon the attempt to engraft his family amongst the sovereigns of Europe by the marriage of his daughter; and ambassadors were again sent to Denmark for the King's mediation with the Duke of Schleswig, that his son Philip might repair to Moscow to espouse Xenie; but the subsequent dethronement of the Tzar prevented the possibility of this marriage taking place. This Tartar Tzar was fond of parade and magnificence; he endeavoured to support his precarious power by all the display possible. We are told that at this time the Russian cavalry consisted of sixteen thousand nobles, who were the guards of the Sovereign, and that they cost him a hundred thousand pounds annually; the regular infantry, with the irregular troops, cost about the same sum. The infantry was composed of twelve thousand Strelitz, six thousand Tartars, and about five thousand Germans—the irregular troops were made up of regiments, from three to twelve hundred strong, who could scarcely be retained for twelve months under their colours, which bore the names of the principal cities; they were armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and had no other way of

reaching an enemy's rampart, than pushing to the top of it whole ramparts of earth. Russia was now visited with a most grievous famine, which lasted for three years, for which time the people suffered every aggravation of misery. During the first year, an immense quantity of rain fell, and an early winter prevented the grain from ripening in the second year; even at the sowing time the frost commenced, and no crops appeared.

The granaries were then exhausted, and such horrors are related of the sufferings of the people, as to remind us of the siege of Samaria, where the women eat their children, and which happened on this occasion. More than a hundred and twenty thousand people are said to have died at Moscow only; but the effects of the famine were felt throughout the Empire. The Tzar did his utmost to mitigate the sufferings of the people, by levying upon the ample funds of the rich to aid the poor, and obliging those who had corn to sell it on reasonable terms to those who were in want. He distributed large sums from his own coffers, and it is supposed that altogether half a million of people perished by this dreadful infliction on Russia in 1601.

Thus far the reign of the Tartar prince was propitious to Russia; but from this period he was haunted by fears of the insecurity of his position. He established a machinery of terror almost equal to that of Ivan himself; the nobles murmured against him; disaffection to his government was fast spreading amongst them, which soon reached the public at large, when Boris began that merciless rule during which, according to the Russian historian, "the nation was stupified with fear;" whole villages were given up to his satellites, whom the tyrant rewarded for their crimes. Vice and misery seemed to reign trium-

phant amongst the unhappy people, who were seized by his myrmidons and put to death, or cast into dungeons on suspicion merely. Sometimes, at his own banquets, he would denounce individuals present, or invited purposely to be thus surprised. They were immediately seized for imprisonment, banishment, or death; even their virtues would provoke his hatred or vengeance. This was particularly the case with Nicholas Romanoff, who, by the female side, was related to the late Tzar, and a collateral branch of the Rurik family. He was accused of a conspiracy to poison the Tzar, and was condemned to perpetual exile in a monastery at Archangel, where he retired with his family, taking the name and habit of Basil. His son, Mikhail, who was then only six years of age, accompanied him; he was educated in the cloister, and became the future Sovereign of Russia. The tyranny which Boris now exercised prepared his downfall. Bands of robbers infested the public roads, employed by him to bring him in the plunder. The immediate result of his merciless sway was to drive the people from the country; and thousands of them sought the protection of the King of Poland, or the wild freedom of the Cossacs, although it was declared, that every Russian leaving the frontier was a rebel to his country. The people, in this extremity, were ready for any plot to drive the tyrant from his throne; nor were they long in finding an actor on the scene suited to their purpose. A youth, named Gregory Otrefief, endowed with superior intelligence and talents, was sent by his father to Moscow to receive the ordinary education afforded in a monastery; and at the early age of fourteen he took the monastic habit.

The patriarch, Job, took notice of him, and invited

him to his palace, to be employed in copying books, the art of printing not having yet made great progress in Russia. Some persons who had been acquainted with the Tzarovitch, Dimitri, remarked to Gregory his great resemblance to the young Prince, which, it is supposed, gave him the idea of playing that part in the drama of Russian history for which he was afterwards so distinguished. After maturing his plans, he declared publicly that he was the real Dimitri; that the reported death of the prince was false; and that another youth had been murdered in his place. The personal resemblance of Gregory to the late Tzarovitch was admitted to be very strong; even the gestures and tone of voice of the impostor were well imitated; and some of those who had known the prince were deceived.

Gregory went into Poland to seek assistance from the king of that country, by whom he was well received. He was indefatigable in his exertions, and possessed a fine figure, with commanding eloquence, and most insinuating manners. He was much with the Roman nuncio in that country; and promised, that should he succeed in recovering the throne of his ancestors, he would bring his subjects within the pale of the Romish Church, which drew down blessings upon him from that prelate. A Russian Boyar, Sendimir, promised him his daughter in marriage when he became the Sovereign of Russia; and, through his interest, the King of Poland was won over to his side, and furnished him with troops: they were joined by the Cossacs of the Don, who, discontented with the government of Boris, declared for the impostor, the reports of whose proceedings soon reached the court of Moscow.

The Tzar immediately proclaimed Dimitri (as he had then assumed the name) to be an adventurer, and sent

spies armed with authority to take his life. He compelled the Patriarch to excommunicate him; and, furthermore, procured the testimony of the mother of Dimitri to the fact of her son's death, and wrote to the King of Poland not to countenance him. But the impostor met this with a counter-proclamation, asserting the extraordinary interposition of Providence in preserving his life, in order to rescue his faithful subjects from the thraldom of usurpation; and expressing his determination, that he would never cease in his efforts to restore the throne of Muscovy to the line of Rurik. This gained him a great number of adherents in Russia amongst the dissatisfied nobles, who were ready to espouse any cause to relieve themselves from the despotism under which they groaned.

The Tzar immediately began to levy troops to meet the false Dimitri, who was preparing to invade Russia; but from the disaffection which prevailed to his government his orders were but slowly obeyed. At length, an army was marched to the frontier to meet him; he had already arrived there with a force of five thousand men, consisting of Poles, Cossacs, Livonians, &c., who flocked to his standard. Between the contending powers a battle was fought in 1604, which terminated in the signal defeat of the Tzar's troops. Dimitri was said to have performed miracles of personal bravery: he went from rank to rank, inspiring the soldiers, and leading them on to victory. The reports of his success spread rapidly through Russia, and all who had so groaned under the sway of Boris were ready to join the Pretender: from the ignorance of the people, they imputed to him that Providence had fought on his side, and that he must be the rightful heir to the throne. Boris

was now haunted with that consuming fire of conscience before which his reason gave way. The success of Dimitri seemed certain, and he could imagine that his army was commanded by the skeleton of his murdered victim. Remorse and despair seized upon him, and he was supposed to have poisoned himself, since he died in three hours, on the 5th April, 1605, in that palace which he had entered, only seven years before, with all the pomp and circumstances of a freely elected sovereign on the first throne of despotism.

The nobles and chiefs of the state immediately assembled, and proclaimed his son, Feodore, for his successor, then about sixteen years of age. This was done principally by the influence of the patriarch, Job. His mother was proclaimed regent. But Dimitri, having begun his enterprise, was not slow in pursuing it. An army was sent against him, the chief of which passed over to the Pretender; different towns opened their gates to him; the people, with great zeal, espoused the cause of Dimitri, who issued a proclamation, urging them to recognise his rights. This had an immediate effect upon them; they acknowledged his claims, and thus protected, he made a triumphal entry into the capital. The unfortunate Feodore, before he had time to exercise his sovereignty, was dethroned, and cast into prison, along with his mother and sister; the Patriarch Job was arrested in his palace, and dragged to the altar of the cathedral, where he was stripped of his sacerdotal robes, clothed in the habit of an ordinary monk, and then sent to an obscure monastery. Then one of those bloody tragedies again commenced which have so desolated Russia in these barbarous ages; the sacrifice of life was so little thought of, that it became the universal rule for

terminating warring conflicts amongst the ruling and the contending powers.

The young Tzar and his mother were strangled in the prison. Feodore defended himself for some time against the assassins; but he was pierced with many blows in the presence of his sister, Xenie, whose life was spared, and she was allowed to retire to a convent for the remainder of her life. The bodies of the mother and her son were exposed for many days to the view of the people, who declared that they had destroyed themselves. Such were the results of the crimes of the infamous Boris Goudonoff: his usurpation was punished with the destruction of all but one of his family, the innocent perishing with the guilty, and that, too, by the commands of another usurper. The people, to revenge the wrongs which they had suffered under his sway, could only be satisfied by ransacking the tombs, from whence they drew the body of Boris, and exposed it to the populace, but at length it was buried in the cemetery of a convent. In the early part of his reign, his administration was marked with an earnest desire to confirm the privileges and enlarge the knowledge of the people. The clergy made great progress in political as well as spiritual power through the patriarch, Job, who was the first to introduce musical instruments into the church; he assumed the right of sitting by the Tzar, and through his instrumentality it was that Boris rose to the sovereign authority.

The false Dimitri made his solemn entry into Moscow on the 21st June, 1605, surrounded by many of the Russian nobles, and at the head of a large army, consisting principally of Poles. The clergy came to meet him with crosses and images; and, alighting from his

horse, he walked to the cathedral to return thanks to heaven on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and he was proclaimed Tzar of all the Russias amidst the shouts of the multitude, who cried out, "Long live our father, the Sovereign and Grand Duke Dimitri, son of Ivan! God has preserved him for our happiness—pursue thy radiant course, O thou son of Russia!" In fifteen days after, he was crowned with much pomp under the name of Dimitri Ivanovitch. The Pretender had now to play a difficult part in order to persuade the mother of the real Dimitri, who was still living, to acknowledge his claims to be her son. He paid her a visit in the monastery, and great curiosity was manifested by the people to witness their interview. This took place publicly, and she, fearing that her life was in danger, acknowledged him to be her son, when she was conducted with much ceremony to the Monastery of the Ascension, where she was received suitably to her rank as mother of the reigning Tzar of Russia.

Dimitri was astonished at his own successes: he took possession of the ancient palace of the Tzars, and began to play the monarch, calling on the people to pray to God for their new sovereign. The declaration of the widow of Ivan IV. served to strengthen his throne, since it was believed that he was her son; but he did not trust to his subjects to support him on it, he was always surrounded by the Poles, who had so much assisted him in his usurpation. He began to cultivate popularity amongst the people, by giving them public audience two or three times a week, and permitting them to apply to him for the redress of their grievances. Thus Dimitri became a favourite in the country, and the brightest anticipations were formed of his reign. His personal bear-

ing was attractive, and, for a short time, he displayed not only the attributes of a brave and skilful warrior, but, to an eminent degree, he seemed to possess the abilities of an experienced statesman. The English ambassador, Smith, was just then quitting Russia, bearing letters from the late Tzar to the King of England. Dimitri ordered these letters to be taken from him, and charged the ambassador to express to King James the high respect entertained for him by the new Tzar of Russia, and that he would, soon after his coronation, send two dignitaries to London, and grant to the English merchants new privileges for their commerce. Dimitri's presence of mind, and indomitable courage, had been proved in many instances; he had that union of qualities which promised to make him a distinguished ruler of Russia; but never having been disciplined by education, he was unable to govern himself, however he might be capable of governing the nation; he was intoxicated with success, and the throne which he had obtained, as if by a miracle, he was unable to fill with prudence.

His first offences to the people were, the numerous honours and benefits which he conferred on the Poles, in preference to his own subjects: his court was almost wholly composed of them, but few Russians being permitted to remain near his person, and they were insulted by the strangers, and ridiculed for their customs and religion. The Boyars began to have a hatred of the usurper; they had never been imposed upon as to his birth, and only admitted his pretensions to get rid of the Tartar prince. Dimitri was conscious of his insecurity, and attempted to rule them by acting on their terrors; he reproached them with not acknowledging his claims, and that they would never have admitted his rights, had

he not compelled them. In addition to this, the voluptuousness of his court, and the open profligacy of his habits, gave general dissatisfaction to the better classes of society. He likewise offended the clergy: he showed his contempt for the Greek Church by a zeal for the Papal faith, and by protecting the worship of the Poles. This gave great offence to the Russians, who were prepared to defend their religion even at the hazard of their lives; the clergy, as a political body, had attained to some importance at this period; and, for the indignities offered to them, the people meditated silent revenge.

Dimitri, in order to dazzle his new subjects, sent an embassy to Cracow, to demand in marriage the daughter of Mnichek, the Palatine of Sondomir; and the Russian ambassador, in the name of his master, affianced the young princess on his behalf. Marina, accompanied by her father, made a splendid entry into Moscow some months after, where the inhabitants vied with each other in giving her a becoming reception. Her arrival seemed to diffuse a general joy amongst the people, and they were disposed to anticipate a happy reign of their new Tzar, Dimitri Ivanovitch. Marina, after having received the compliments of the nobles and clergy, was conducted to the convent of the Tzarina Maria until the celebration of the nuptials. She was accompanied into Russia by four thousand Poles, which gave great disquietude to the upper classes. At length the marriage took place, and at the same time the Patriarch placed the crown on her head, which, being contrary to the customs of the country, was said to have given great umbrage; in addition to which, the Princess was principally attended by Poles, to whom the Tzar confined his attentions, and they

treated the Russians more like victors than invited guests. The Court gave itself up to excesses of all sorts, during which time the Tzar rested on that false security which was the cause of his downfall. A conspiracy against the government had long existed; but during this time, when it was thought Dimitri was off his guard, a conspirator, Chouiski, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, who were estimated at fifteen thousand men, and by his eloquence he inspired the multitude with vengeance against the impostor; he declared that the time was come, and they attacked the palace whilst the Tzar was still in a profound sleep; he was surrounded by thirty guards, Poles and Cossacs, whom he deemed sufficient for his security.

Dimitri, alarmed at the attack, rose up in haste, hoping by his presence to appease the people, but he was obliged to fly before them. The palace gates were fired, and the affrighted Tzar, jumping from a window to a court below, broke his leg in the fall. He was carried into the palace, and some faithful guards were found, who swore to die in his defence: but the chief conspirator, Chouiski, did his utmost to arouse the people to fury. He was armed with a document from the Tzarina, still in the monastery, to signify that she was *not* the mother of the usurper, and that she had been compelled to avow him for her son from the fear of death. This re-animated the fury of the people, and also of the Strelitz, who had up to this time defended Dimitri. They felt shame to have been so imposed upon, and swore his death: they pierced his body with a thousand blows, which for three days was left exposed to the populace. They then revenged themselves on the Poles, by massacring all they could meet with.

The room of the young bride, Marina, was forced open—she was protected only by an old woman; but the Boyars approaching, compelled the mob to respect them, and they retired without committing any outrage against her. Thus was presented another bloody tragedy on the scene of Empire, with which the Russian annals so abound, such as are disgusting to humanity. Here were no questions of laws, of rights, or of justice. A monk springs from the cloister, throws off his monastic robe, and assumes the diadem. The waste of human life which attends his usurpation, is—with him—but of little account. In one short year, Gregory, the monk, terminated his career as Dimitri the Tzar, when he was consigned to oblivion amidst the execrations of the people, who had first idolized him, and then stabbed him to death. New Dimitris now sprang up, and the Empire was plunged into a chaos of confusion, to which its interests were sacrificed, and anarchy alone seemed to reign rampant.

The chief conspirator, Chouiski, having, as he said, delivered the country from an atrocious tyrant, asserted the rights of the people to elect a sovereign to the vacant throne, and thousands of voices were raised in his favour as the deliverer of Russia. The Boyars met to proceed to an election, but they were scarcely permitted to deliberate the adherents of Chouiski filled the streets with the echoes of his exploits; they intimidated the Boyars: he was declared the successor of Dimitri the usurper, and ascended the throne under the title of Vassili Chouiski, in 1606. But there could be no stability for a throne thus hastily built up, since it was vacant only four days, and without any foundation of right beyond the hasty ebullitions of a mob, and the intimidated decision of the Boyars, who, seeing

one of their own order advanced to the dignity, became jealous of him, and particularly since they had lent themselves to his fraudulent designs. Thus was the Empire plunged into confusion, and excesses were daily committed, both in the capital and the provinces, which served rather to retard than advance its improvement. The coronation of the new sovereign soon followed his election. At the altar of the Cathedral, with his hand resting on a crucifix, Chouiski pronounced with a loud voice, "I swear to all the people of Russia, not to condemn any one to death until he shall have been judged by the senate: and I swear, that no father shall be answerable for the crimes of his son."

This declaration charmed his new subjects, and they augured from it a happy reign. He also made himself popular by dispersing the Poles, many of whom returned to their own country, after the part which they had taken in the Russian sovereignty, and the Princess Marina was allowed to remain unmolested. New factions and new plots now began to threaten around the Tzar's throne. Some of the Boyars attempted to prove that the real Dimitri was not dead; and that he was prepared to come forward to assert his rights. The Tzarina had admitted that the late Dimitri was an impostor. This in some measure aided their designs; and it served them to build upon it another plot, when a Polish schoolmaster advanced his pretension to be the real Dimitri, the Polish troops that were still remaining in the country espoused his cause. Russia was convulsed with party distractions; and Sigismond, King of Poland, took advantage of them to declare war against her. The Poles advanced, and the Tzar went to meet them with an army of 30,000 Muscovites and 8,000 Swedes, whom he had called to

his aid; but they were completely defeated by a force of only 8000 Poles under Marshal Zalkiewski. The army marched on to Moscow, which they closely invested; the gates were at length thrown open, and they were admitted into the city, when the people rose in insurrection, and attributed all their calamities to the new Tzar. The Boyars entered into negotiations to dethrone him; and Verontiski, who headed the revolt, conducted the insurgents to the palace, and arrested the Tzar with his own hand. He then dragged him, with his spouse, to the house which he had occupied before his elevation: the next day, they forced him to take the monastic habit, although they could not force him to take the monastic vows. This he obstinately refused to do, as did his wife: and they were both reduced to the lowest state of degradation, and some time after were sent to different monasteries, from whence they were conducted to Warsaw, with the two brothers of the unfortunate Chouiski; here they were imprisoned, and here Chouiski died, after a short reign of four years, with more than the usual storms of empire.

An interregnum followed, during which time the Russian Empire was torn in pieces by intestine commotions. Aspirants for power sprang up in all directions, with strange names and authorities. To recapitulate them would be a waste of time, both to the reader and the writer, since no one was so particularly distinguished as the late usurper, until the throne was established on a firm basis. The inhabitants of Moscow groaned under the slavery of the Poles; their property was taken from them; neither their lives nor their families could scarcely be called their own. In this extremity, they forced the Boyars to solicit Sigismund of Poland to grant them his

son for their sovereign. This was the summit of the king's ambition. His negotiators had corrupted the people to come to this decision. His aim was to consolidate the two crowns; and in 1610, the Muscovites did homage to the proxy of the absent prince in the capital, and finally abandoned it to the Polish troops. The Patriarch alone resisted this new sovereignty, and refused to sign the letter forwarded by the Boyars to Sigismund, although Soltykof, a Polish chief, held a dagger to his breast. This resistance, on his part, was made the subject of a horrible chastisement on the inhabitants of Moscow, when the Polish troops, on the pretence of wreaking their vengeance on his followers, committed the most dreadful barbarities. The priests and the monks were the first sacrificed; youth and age, infirmity and strength, nothing could withstand the ferocity of the assassins. The houses were given up to the flames; the churches and monasteries were pillaged; their relics and images dispersed; several Boyars were massacred; and the Prince Galitzin was assassinated in his own house. It is said that Sigismund approved of this outbreak, so that the Russians might be intimidated to embrace his yoke.

Russia was likewise at this time invaded by the Swedes, who, under the reign of Charles IX., thought to secure to themselves the town of Novogorod, which they invested and took possession of whilst the inhabitants were off their guard. They plundered the shops, and murdered many of the inhabitants, to which proceedings, in the then prostrate state of Russia, no resistance could be made. The Swedes now contested with the Poles the right to the country; and never, perhaps, was the once great Empire of Russia in a more deplorable state.

Moscow was besieged by them; and the inhabitants were reduced to such straits, that they were obliged to sustain themselves on the bodies of the slain. The Poles vigorously defended the city. Moscow was in the hands of Zalkiewski, a Polish chief, whose tyranny over the inhabitants had driven them to frequent revolts, during which it is supposed that no less than 100,000 Russians perished, and the greater part of the city was laid in ashes. The Poles then intrenched themselves in the citadel. The inhabitants at length succeeded in expelling them from the capital, principally by the bravery of a retired citizen from Novogorod, Pojarski, who was chosen as their chief, to head the troops and drive out the invaders.

This Cincinnatus of the north acquitted himself with great dexterity as well as great bravery; he united the people against the common foes, and led them on to victory by degrees, expelling them all from the different cities. He proved himself the truest patriot, by refusing rank or honour except he could serve his country. He purged Moscow completely from the invaders. This interregnum lasted for some years, during which time the loss of life and destruction of property in Russia is beyond all estimate.

Pojarski now convened the Boyars that they might proceed to elect another Sovereign, whereby to give their country repose and a settled government, "the only measure capable (said he) of putting at rest the pretensions of the neighbouring powers." They offered him the vacant throne, but he magnanimously refused it, saying—"Elect some young man whose past services can have no claim upon your suffrages, and let him solemnly engage to reign according to the laws; all the calamities

of our country have arisen from the Sovereign Princes not being subject to them." The choice of the Boyars fell on Mikhail Romanoff, who was then only fifteen years of age, and Pojarski approved of their choice. This youth was the grandson of Theodore Philarat Romanoff, and had been banished, with his father, to a monastery by Boris Goudonoff, as before related. When the election was first proposed to him he rejected it, and his mother, who was then with him in the convent, besought them to spare her son the intended distinction; but he was at length prevailed upon to accept it, and the Boyars returned to Moscow to announce the event—their choice was governed principally by the circumstance, that he was a branch of the Rurik family by the female side. The house of Romanoff derives its origin from Andrew, a Prussian officer, who came into Russia in the middle of the fourteenth century. He married a remote branch of the Rurik family, and his grandson, Zechariah, attained the highest honours in the court of Vassili Vassilivitch, and left several children; his second son Iouri was Boyar in the reign of Ivan Vassilivitch, to whom his daughter Anastasia was the first wife; the third son enjoyed the rank of Voivode. Nicetas, the youngest, likewise a Boyar, was the father of Feodore Romanoff, whose only son, Mikhail, was chosen Tzar in 1613, and became the founder of the present imperial family on the throne of Russia. With this election commenced a new era in Russia, which produced an universal calm—the foreign enemies were expelled, and domestic strifes had ceased. To prevent the repetition of them, as well as to lighten that despotism of their former Sovereigns, from which they had suffered so much, the Boyars and citizens of the town then

assembled, resolved to limit the privileges of the Sovereign beforehand, that so he may possess as little power as may be consistent with the dignity of his station, and the responsibility of his office. They prescribed to Mikhail Romanoff an oath, requiring him to protect the Greek religion—that he would govern according to the laws—that he would not, at his own pleasure, make war or peace—that he would neither make any new laws nor alter the old. The Russians had incurred such heavy inflictions from the arbitrary power of their former Tzars, that from the extreme of despotism, which had so oppressed them, they fell now into the opposite extreme, leaving him scarcely any power to do them good; they were wearied with tyranny, and anxious for peace.

The name of Romanoff seemed to act upon them as a sort of charm, although divested of the "divine right," to which they had formerly so superstitiously clung—the clergy had been the chief agents of their preservation. It was natural, therefore, that they should choose the son of their metropolitan, Romanoff, whose virtues had so distinguished him, and that they should appoint the father to conduct the government during the minority of his son, who began his reign in 1613, under the title of Mikhail III. His subjects were not disappointed in him, since he exhibited great moderation in the exercise of his authority, and carried his love of peace so far as on some occasions scarcely to show sufficient spirit in repelling the aggressions of the enemy, and, although he created a regular army, it was for the purpose of securing domestic quiet. He acted on the strictest principles of justice in the punishment of criminals; nor ever committed any acts of tyranny whilst preserving the public welfare. One of the

enemies of Russia still hovered on the frontier; this was Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, a young prince of consummate abilities, both in the field and in the cabinet. The principal cause of war was the refusal of the Russians to repay to Sweden a sum of money which they had borrowed in their distress, and at the head of a powerful and well-trained army Gustavus advanced, threatening vengeance for their dishonesty. He succeeded in capturing several fortresses, and making some way into the interior of the country, but nothing seriously affecting the Russian Empire. Negotiations were entered into with him, through the mediation of England and Holland, and a treaty was finally concluded, by which Russia lost the two provinces of Esthonia and Livonia.

The Poles, seeing the success of the Swedish campaign, again shewed themselves on the borders; some engagements took place between the rival troops, chiefly disastrous to the Poles: they were, consequently, glad to make a treaty, and the Russians equally so to get rid of them. This peace was concluded in 1616. The general tenor of the reign of this sovereign was peaceful: all his energies were directed to establish the country in tranquillity and prosperity. This was the glory which he sought; and he laboured zealously to restore the exhausted Empire of Russia to a healthy vigour, and thus to place the people in a condition beyond what they had attained to in any former reign; he was much assisted by the wise counsels of his father. "About this time, the office of Patriarch became vacant, and it was immediately conferred upon him by Mikhail, much to the satisfaction of the people.

The peace with Poland, which was only for a limited period, had now expired, and the Russians renewed the

war with the hope of getting back those provinces which had been ceded by them to the Poles. An army of 50,000 men penetrated into Poland, under the command of Sakin, the Russian general, who, for two years, remained inactive before Smolensko, which gave the Poles time to collect their forces, and they completely succeeded in defeating the Russians, to whom Sakin abandoned his camp, and engaged not to take further part in the war, for which pusillanimity he answered with his head at Moscow. Mikhail proposed terms of peace to the victor, and was obliged to make large concessions of territory, the termination of this war being much more disastrous than that of the preceding one.

The Tzar now felt impelled to make further defences for his empire, by the construction of fortresses on the frontiers, and to invite foreign officers to discipline his troops, when, for the first time, there was introduced into Russia a regiment of dragoons mounted in the European fashion, which much astonished the natives. The repose of the country was complete when the hostilities with the Poles had ceased, nor was it disturbed again during the remainder of Mikhail's reign, which terminated in the month of July, 1645, in his forty-nineth year, and the thirty-second of his sovereignty. His death was occasioned by the breaking of a blood-vessel as he was retiring to rest.

Mikhail had married, in 1624, the daughter of Prince Dolgorouky, who died about four months after the marriage. By his second wife, Eudokhai, daughter of Prince Strachenoff, he had three sons and several daughters. At the time of his death, the Tzarevitch Alexis was only fifteen years of age, whom he left to the guardianship of Morosof, a noble of intriguing tem-

per and unbounded ambition. The reign of Mikhail, though not brilliant, may be deemed to have been very advantageous for Russia. He found the country weighed down by calamities, and its institutions in a state of confusion—he restored public confidence and tranquillity—the commerce, which had been depressed, he revived—and justice, which was corrupt, he restored to a healthy exercise, and he laid the foundation of that prosperity which was so wonderfully developed in the succeeding reigns.

Some instances of cruelty are recorded of Mikhail, which stain the character of this otherwise respectable sovereign. Amongst others, are the following: the domestic tranquillity of the empire was disturbed by another Pretender to the throne, who assumed the name of Dimitri; but the people were tired of those delusions: the impostor was seized and thrown into prison. On being brought before the Tzar, he ordered him to be cut in pieces in his presence. A rebel from Astracan he ordered to be impaled. Such punishments he, perhaps, deemed necessary to prevent others from pretensions to the throne.

Both religion and the sciences found in Mikhail a zealous protector. He was superstitious even to fanaticism, and once ordered a solemn *fête* throughout his dominions in honour of a holy tunic of the Saviour being presented to him by the King of Persia, with whom he renewed relations. The history of this tunic is rather curious, and great researches were made to prove the authenticity of so valuable a relic. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was then at Moscow, accompanied by a monk, who asserted that he well knew the tunic of Jesus Christ had passed into Georgia—that when at

the Cross, our Saviour was stripped of his garments, a Georgian soldier, who happened to be there, took possession of the tunic, and carried it with him into his own country, where it was lodged in one of the churches, and taken possession of by the Shah's troops when they invaded that country. To this tunic miracles were attributed, and the superstitious people received it with the reverence of the most profound ignorance.

Immediately on the decease of Mikhail, his son, Alexis, was proclaimed his successor; and the oaths of allegiance were taken to him by the Boyars and principal officers of the crown. Morosof, to whom the affairs of government were committed, displayed great talents and industry in the art of governing. He reinforced the effective troops by the introduction of foreigners to command them; he built establishments for the manufacture of arms; and strengthened the fortresses on the frontiers against Sweden and Poland. He might have continued to rule Russia, in the name of the Tzar, to the satisfaction and benefit of the people, but for his insatiable avarice. The oppressions which sprang out of it were numerous and grievous. The most exorbitant taxes were imposed; rich men were denounced on false charges, in order to extort money from them; or they were condemned to death, that their property might be confiscated to the state, or rather brought to augment Morosof's enormous revenues; the lowest wretches were employed as witnesses for bribes; and justice was openly sold to the best bidder. All these things awoke the people to an universal feeling of indignation; and they who had suffered amongst the upper classes took every opportunity to inflame the populace, who flocked to the Kremlin with petitions to remove the obnoxious minister;

but he had so arranged it that they should not reach the Tzar, who was kept in ignorance of the sufferings of the people.

Alexis, about four years after his accession to the throne, married Maria, the daughter of Miloslavski, a Russian gentleman only, who was soon after created a Boyar. Morosof induced the young Tzar to make this choice; and, in order to establish himself in a nearer alliance to the throne, he espoused the Tzarina's sister a few days after; this sister was renowned for her beauty. Both love and ambition may be supposed to have crowned Morosof's nuptials. This marriage, although it gave him more power at the court, did not reconcile him to the people, by whom he was detested. His haughty bearing to the nobles around him, excited within an universal feeling of indignation; and, seeing the fruitlessness of their petitions to the Tzar, they intercepted him as he was one day passing from his palace to the church, and presented their petitions to him, accompanied with loud cries and gestures, demanding the appointment of upright judges, and the removal of Morosof from the Tzar's councils.

Alexis promised that their grievances should be redressed, and that he would visit the guilty persons with punishment; but, influenced by Morosof, they were rather aggravated than lessened. Fresh tumults soon broke out; Moscow was fired in several places; the people proceeded to plunder the most obnoxious of the nobles. At length the Tzar, in order to appease the multitude, assisted in a grand procession of monks and other orders of the church, when he addressed them as a penitent, in terms so humble and so affecting, that he even shed tears, and asked pardon for his minister, Morosof.

The people were moved, and cried out with one voice, "Let the will of God, and the Tzar be done!" and in this way they were for a time appeased.

After this revolt, Morosof lived in retirement, and took no further part in public affairs; but the Tzar often made him private visits, and consulted him on important matters. He visited him also during his last illness, wept bitterly at his death, and attended the ceremony of his funeral. The Tzar had been brought up by Morosof in his youth; and, in spite of his numerous faults, could not but respect him as a father.

Another impostor now appeared on the stage to claim the Russian sovereignty. He was said to have been the son of Marina, who married the false Dimitri. He was patronized by a Polish noble named Danalowski, on finding, by a discovery at the bath, that the young man's arm was marked in the Russ characters, "Dimitri, son of the Tzar, Dimitri," which his mother took care to have done, to reveal the secret of his birth on any opportunity, in order to advance his pretensions to the throne. This was immediately taken advantage of by Vladislaus, the King of Poland, who invited him to Warsaw, where he was received with honour. The report soon reached Russia; and Alexis claimed of the King of Poland, that he should deliver over to him the impostor, whom he protected under different pretexts. But Dimitri, fearing to be delivered over to the Tzar, had fled to Stockholm, and was subsequently given up in consideration of a large sum of money which was paid. He was then led to Moscow; and, being confronted with his mother, he was convicted of the imposture, and condemned to be cut into five quarters, which consists of cutting of the head and the four members.

Alexis had soon an opportunity of revenging himself for the continued hostility of Poland, which was so often manifested, by a quarrel springing up between the Cossacs and the Poles. The former, although originally of Tartar origin, had by degrees been subdued to the yoke of Poland, which became at length so oppressive as to cause a great number of the inhabitants to fly from the country. Their chief, Bogdan, applied to the Tzar for aid, offering to become his vassal if he would send 20,000 Muscovites into Lithouania to his succour. Alexis was at first rather timid, being afraid to incur the vengeance of John Cassimir, the then King of Poland; but he was incited to it by the patriarch, Nicon, who said that the interests of religion demanded that he should make war against Catholic Poland, and war was accordingly declared.

Alexis, in order to show some pretence for war, required the restitution of these places which had formerly been ceded to Poland. Cassimir's refusal to these demands formed the only reasonable pretext for the declaration of hostilities. The progress of the Russian arms was rapid and complete; numerous fortresses fell into their hands, which seemed even to threaten the independence of Poland; the approach of the Swedes, too, at the same time to that country, drove Cassimir to seek refuge in Silesia; but the finances of Russia were at this time in so exhausted a state by the drain upon them for this war, that Alexis, desirous of peace, sent an embassy into Poland for that purpose, which was not immediately successful. The trade of the country had likewise suffered so much, that after two years' warfare the Tzar was glad to bring the hostilities to a close on the best terms that he could get, in order to relieve his

finances; copper money was for the first time now struck, and the copeck became one of the current coins of Russia. The sufferings of the people had again driven them to revolt; about sixteen thousand of them armed themselves with any weapons which they could collect; part of them began to plunder the capital, whilst another party sought the Tzar in his country-house, where they demanded of him to give up even his father-in-law and other nobles, whom they accused as public plunderers. Alexis promised them redress of their grievances, and presented to them the Tzarina and her son as guarantees for these promises.

The insurgents, thinking to intimidate the Tzar, replied only by seditious cries against him, when an order was given for the Strelitz to fire on the multitude; a great carnage of them was the result, some hundreds were hung at Moscow, and some thousands, it is said, were exiled to Siberia. Quiet was re-established, but at the cost of great slaughter and the destruction of human life.

Alexis was much swayed in his counsels by the patriarch, Nicon, the most extraordinary character of this reign, who was trained under the strictest monastic severities, to become at length almost the ruler of his sovereign. He had great natural eloquence, with firmness of character, which degenerated sometimes into sternness; the austerity of his former life had caused him to be so respected by the monks, that they elected him as their abbot. He was invited to Moscow, and, being known to the Tzar, he made him successively Archimandrite, Patriarch, and, at length, Metropolitan of Russia in 1652.

The Tzar had the most unbounded confidence in

Nicon's judgment, which he seems to have merited, giving him the exercise of supreme magistrate, and to decide on the fate of criminals. He visited the prisons, delivered the innocent, consoled the guilty, and granted pardons whenever they appeared to merit the indulgence. Nicon was the first to introduce chaunting in the Greek church, which novelty pleased the Tzar—he reformed many abuses and errors of the services—he made himself a new translation of the Bible at Moscow from the original text, and became a zealous reformer of the ceremonies and usages of the Greek worship. No one more enjoyed the confidence of Alexis, nor was so high in his favour as Nicon, whether in temporal or spiritual affairs; but from his unfortunately recommending the Tzar to declare war against Poland, by which advice all the subsequent sufferings in Russia were attributed to him, the royal favour began to decline, and at length the royal ire followed him: he was stripped of all his honours, banished from Moscow to a monastery, and ended his days in exile. Nicon was too remarkable a character in Russian history to be quite passed over, although there is nothing so wonderful as what may be met with in more modern times.

The tranquillity of Russia was again disturbed by civil war. The Don Cossacs broke out into open revolt, and Stanta Radzin placed himself at the head of the insurgents, a savage chief, whose deeds of blood and cruelty disgraced even the barbarous times in which he lived. In an incredibly short period, he collected together nearly 200,000 men, but the merest rabble, to whom he gave free permission to plunder. Such a moving mass of undisciplined banditti, badly armed, were led on by Radzin, who did not possess a single

quality of a leader. He was vigorously pursued by the Russian troops, attacked on all sides, and at length they were beaten and exterminated. Radzin retired to the banks of the Don, where he was captured, and sent in chains to Moscow, and cut in pieces. His brother was hung; and it is said that some thousands of his followers were gibbeted on the high-roads, where the Russians lingered to quell every spirit of resistance amongst the discomfited Cossacs. The remainder of this reign was tranquil, although the interests of Russia were remotely involved in a war then pending between Poland and the Sublime Porte, Russia having engaged to assist the former. Alexis appealed to the different monarchs of Europe to help him in a war to maintain the Christian faith, and it was supposed that he contemplated placing his son on the throne of Poland, but death interposed, and smote the sovereign of Russia, on the 29th January, 1676, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign.

Alexis is described as having been tall, with an amiable physiognomy; and, although armed with despotic power, his government was mild and tolerant, and in his administration of justice, most merciful. When called upon to sign the death-warrant of a criminal, "I am not obliged," said he, "to cause my people to perish." He was liberal, and even prodigal to strangers; but he was said to have been proud and tenacious of the dignity both of himself and of his family. He loved pomp and parade, and would but seldom mix with any of his subjects, except from interested motives. The character of his government, although tempered with boldness, was mixed with patience and integrity. He was much beloved by his subjects, and descended to the grave

amidst their regrets. He reformed the laws, and gave a code to his country; and, by consulting the nobles, clergy, and burghers, he effected those reforms which were necessary for the welfare of the state. This Tzar founded the Russian navy, by turning his attention to the art of shipbuilding, with a view to floating merchant ships on the Caspian.

Alexis established manufactures in different parts of the empire, and endeavoured to people the vast steppes in the neighbourhood of the Volga and the Kama. He promoted the arts and sciences, by causing many books on such subjects to be translated into the Russian language. He explored many of the mines in Russia, and the first discovery of a gold mine was made in 1759. He added Plescow and Smolensko to his dominions, and secured to Russia the independence of the Ukraine; which important country had, until this time, been subject to Poland. The first idea of military discipline was given, during this reign, by the Generals Gordon, Leslie, and Dalziel, whom he employed. He modelled the laws of his empire, wrote a regular code, and sought to repress the ambition of the Patriarch, and to oppose the usurpations of the Church. He cherished the ambition of being a maritime power, and of forming fleets on the Black Sea and on the Caspian. He was undoubtedly a great and magnanimous prince, and laid the foundation of that immense empire on which Peter afterwards built his glory. It is noticeable of this sovereign, that he was the only one in Europe that refused to receive an English ambassador sent by Cromwell. He restrained the pride of the clergy, and put down completely the insolence of the patriarch, who pretended to share the sovereign authority with the Tzar. Alexis had two

sons by his first wife, Feodore and Ivan, and several daughters, of whom Sophia was the eldest, and the most famous.

He married a second time, Natalia, daughter of Kiril' Narishkin. According to the customs of Russia, the Tzar had a right to select his consort from amongst his own subjects; the consequence was, that it raised such families but little inferior to the sovereign power, inducing faction, revolt, or intrigue, most disastrous to the prosperity of the country. The fruits of the second marriage were two children, Peter and Natalia. The two families into which the Tzar married became rival factions respecting his successors, and entailed a great amount of sufferings on the people, until the government became concentrated in a strong hand, which was soon realized as the greatest epoch in Russian history.

Feodore III., the eldest son of the late Tzar, was declared his successor; he was only nineteen years of age at the death of his father; he was of delicate constitution; but by no means unable to cope with the affairs of government, and had the most ardent desire for the welfare of his subjects, with an emulation to follow in the steps of Alexis. He soon brought the war of dispute with Turkey to a termination, and a peace was concluded in 1681. He applied himself to reform the abuses of the state, particularly in the administration of justice, which no man could before obtain without paying for it. He caused the price of provisions to be so regulated as to bring them within the means of the poor; and he turned his attention to their distresses, endeavouring in every way to relieve them. The police of Moscow he improved in its practical efficiency by many necessary and wise regulations.

These were the subjects that occupied this Sovereign during his short reign. But he had a further difficult task, to which he applied himself with more courage than had been attempted by any of his predecessors, which was to subdue the pretensions of the arrogant nobles, who were not only trampling on the people, but restraining as it were the sovereign authority. Birth and rank were much thought of amongst them; their disputes and quarrels threw the public service into great confusion, since no one would serve in a subordinate post under a person of inferior rank.

The Russian nobles were very particular in preserving their genealogies, and at Moscow there was a heralds' office established, where they were registered; so that, whenever any differences arose amongst them, references were immediately made to these records. Their disputes could be settled only by the Senate; and so frequently did these disputes arise, that the Tzar, on consulting his minister, Galitzin, resolved on a plan of terminating this absurd and troublesome practice. He issued a manifesto, requiring all noble families to deliver their deeds into Court; he then held a convocation of the clergy, to whom he exposed the absurd practice by which the nobles were arrayed against each other, and, with their consent, Feodore ordered the records, which were gathered in a heap in the palace-yard, to be set on fire. The consternation of the nobles may be easily conceived at this bold step of the Tzar, thus destroying the title-deeds of honours of the nobility; but he reconciled them to it, by establishing a new heralds' office, in which the names and ranks of the noble families were inscribed with due formality. He also established an inferior class of nobility, and ordered that in future every one should

serve the posts to which they were assigned, without distinction. This "*coup d'état*" was principally due to the Tzar's minister, Galitzin, who became so conspicuous in the subsequent history of Russia. This brief reign of only five years and a half, was undistinguished by any foreign events worth recording in the annals of Russia. Feodore's attention was principally directed to the institutions of his country, which he sought to improve with the spirit of his father; he was a zealous supporter of the Greek church, which was always most violently opposed to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic faith. Feodore died on the 16th February, 1682, aged twenty-five years; he had been twice married, but did not leave any family; he was succeeded by his brother.

Ivan V., the next heir to the throne, who was so weak a prince, both in mind and body, that he may be almost considered an imbecile, was then only sixteen years of age. The nobles and the clergy were divided in opinion as to whether he should be proclaimed Tzar, or that they should proclaim his half-brother, Peter, then about ten years of age. Ivan's right was ably supported by his sister, the Princess Sophia, who, to great mental endowments, was in the meridian of youth, with singular beauty and indomitable courage. She set the example of contesting for the throne; first, for her imbecile brother, and, after him, she did not scruple to declare her own right. The feuds between the two families into which Alexis had married—the Milaflafskoi and the Narishkins—began with their different adherents. The former determined to preserve the right of succession in their own blood; and, in order to prejudice the people, they gave out that the latter had poisoned Feodore, through the agency of foreign physicians. Galitzin,

his late minister, was the counsellor and friend of Sophia; in this way, they brought about revolt. The Strelitz were bribed to take their parts, and for three days they committed the most horrible excesses in the streets of Moscow. They burst into the palace of the Narishkins; and were by this time joined by an immense number of the people, who, well armed, and with drums beating and colours flying on the outside, cried out—"Give us up the traitors—the murderers of the Tzar!" Peter, his mother, and the ministers, shewed themselves from the balcony; even Ivan addressed the infuriated mob, striving to appease them, whom they saluted, and then precipitated themselves into the palace.

The brother of the Tzarina was immediately murdered on the spot, and they sacrificed to their fury about sixty of her kindred, whom they suspected of poisoning Feodore. In this barbarous way did they manifest their attachment to the late Sovereign; night alone stopped the effusion of blood. The Strelitz mounted guard at the palace, and at the different quarters of the city. The next day the bloody scenes were renewed; the rebels demanded the father and the brother of the Tzarina: she, trembling for their lives, on her knees implored their pity. Even the Princess Sophia, who had stirred up this frenzy against them, humbled herself in supplications to spare them; but one of the victims must perish. Her son was thrown out upon the lances of the soldiery—they cut off the feet, hands, and head, and then hacked the body in pieces—they forced the unfortunate father to witness the torments of his son, and then sent him to a monastery, where they obliged him to become a monk. The Tzarina had escaped from the palace on the previous day, with her son, Peter, and had fled to the

Troitza convent; the ferocious Strelitz tracked her steps, and were close upon her path. She had just time to enter the convent, to gain the foot of the altar, and had placed the child upon it, when the Strélitz, uttering cries of savage joy, one of them ran up and seized Peter, with a sword in his uplifted hand; but suddenly the noise of approaching horsemen alarmed his fellows in the further part of the church: the Russian hesitated, and, abandoning his grasp of the prince, fled, and Peter the Great was preserved to Russia.

The Strelitz, by the success of their revolt, thought themselves masters of the State, and, committing the government to Sophia, ordered that Ivan should share the throne with his half-brother, Peter; this was sanctioned by the nobles, and on the 6th May, 1681, they were crowned jointly. Sophia had thus far carried her purpose—she had been appointed Regent on account of the imbecility of one of the Tzars, and the youth of the other. Ivan, seated on the throne, but incapable of reigning willingly, abandoned the government to his sister; whilst Peter, too young to take any part in it, was banished by her to an obscure village called Preobazinski, a miserable retreat, where, given up to the impetuosity of his nature and the follies of youth, he plunged into all sorts of wickednesses with young companions, who corrupted his morals and brutalized his manners; here he contracted the vices of his life—his virtues were his own. Ivan was led by his sister to marry a daughter of Soltykof, a Boyar, one of the handsomest women in Russia. This marriage took place at the beginning of the year 1684.

The Strelitz, who had raised Sophia to the imperial power, became dangerous and oppressive to the Regent;

they made the most arrogant demands upon her, to comply with which she would have become their slave instead of their ruler. They endeavoured to establish a complete tyranny over her actions, by placing spies about her person, as though they had the right of dethroning as well as enthroning. This compelled her to take some decisive steps to be relieved from their despotism. Khovanskoi, their chief, owed his appointment to the Regent. He was stung with resentment at her refusal of his request, that she should marry one of her sisters to his son: and declared himself in revolt.

The Strelitz rose on behalf of their chief, and Moscow was suddenly involved in bloody warfare. The Regent fled to the Troitza monastery. The Russian troops were hastily collected, headed by foreigners. The Strelitz were surprised by them, and Khovanskoi was taken prisoner, and beheaded. They advanced towards the monastery, vowing vengeance for the loss of their commander; but, hearing that they should meet with a warm reception, they returned, struck with a sudden panic. The ringleaders were given up to punishment: the unfortunate wretches took leave of their families, and then went in procession to the Monastery, some carrying blocks and some axes; here they awaited their doom. The most guilty amongst them were executed, the rest were distributed in different regiments distant from the capital. But the Regent never more employed this military body, which might be compared to the Prætorian band at Rome, or to the Janissaries of Constantinople.

The government of the Regent was now well established, as conducted by her able minister, Galitzin,

whom she made Privy Seal and Minister for Foreign Affairs. He concluded an advantageous treaty with Poland, securing to Russia a considerable augmentation of territory; but he was not so fortunate in an expedition against the Turks, when he was called upon to head an army of 300,000 men, where he wasted his enormous power by marches and counter-marches, by which he lost 40,000 soldiers, to the discomfiture and total failure of the expedition, which brought great odium on the Regent's government. During this time, the young Tzar, Peter, in his obscurity, was continually excited by his mother and her party against Sophia and her minister, Galitzin. The Regent had sent him to this obscure village to degrade his mind, and thereby to render him incapable of governing. She had placed around him fifty young men, abandoned to the most vicious courses, that he might imbibe their dissolute habits, one of whom was Lefort, a Genevese, whose life had been a wild career of extravagance and profligacy. He was compelled to leave Geneva, and, passing through Holland, fell in with a Russian officer, who was collecting troops for the late Tzar, Alexis. Lefort enlisted, and went with the new levy to Archangel; having a great talent for languages, he soon acquired a knowledge of the Russ. From Archangel he went to Moscow: his good fortune at length led him to be introduced to the young Tzar, Peter, who soon became his boon companion. Lefort first taught him his vices, and at length the study of books, and the art of government. The vivacity of his character so recommended him to the young Tzar, that he formed a friendship for him which lasted to the end of Lefort's life.

Peter, with an enthusiasm which distinguished all his

actions, entered warmly into the pursuits of those surrounding him, whether of vice or of military education, to the latter of which he soon directed all his energies. He formed his companions into a band of cadets, setting them an example of strict discipline by entering the ranks as a drummer, then as a private soldier, and so through all the military grades, until he came to be their commander. His little band was sincerely attached to his person. His master-mind rapidly acquired an ascendency over them; and with them he attained the most rigid military education. The village became a military school; they erected fortifications, sunk intrenchments, and soon went beyond the bounds of their village. This juvenile force occupied a district in the neighbourhood.

It was during this time that Peter acquired that taste for maritime affairs which afterwards so distinguished him; although, until his fourteenth year, he had a dread of the water, occasioned by his nurse once frightening him with the noise of a waterfall. He would never cross a bridge, except in a carriage strictly closed. By degrees, he conquered his fears so much, as to frighten others by his courage. Chance furnished him with the new study of ships and navigation. He was at the town of Ismailof; and, amongst other neglected things, he saw there an old English sloop, which had been detained by contrary winds, and had now become useless. The curiosity of the young Tzar was much excited to see if she could not be floated again. His followers reminded him of Brandt, the Dutchman, who had been invited from Holland by his father, Alexis, to build vessels for the Caspian Sea. The old veteran was immediately sent for; he refitted the sloop, put a mast into her,

adjusted the sails, and navigated her on the river in the presence of the astonished Peter, who went on board, and became himself the pilot. He was not content with manœuvring the sloop; but they must make him a larger vessel, which was immediately proceeded with; and two small frigates were launched on the lake Clechnin, in 1692. At length, Peter learned to brave all dangers of the sea; he made a voyage to Archangel, and subsequently navigated vessels in the Mediterranean, with a convoy of Dutch and English ships; he named Lefort his admiral. Such was the origin of the Russian Navy, which has now become so important a branch of the power of that country.

Having acquired some knowledge of the military and naval arts—this was not all that the young Tzar learned during his rustic education; in the former art he was much assisted by a Scotchman, Colonel P. Gordon, who had entered the Russian service under his father, Alexis. Lefort taught him the elementary branches of science and literature; and from him he likewise imbibed the advantages of civilization, by a personal examination of its results in the modern languages of Europe. Peter's ardent mind could embrace that as a pleasure, which had never been imposed upon him as a task; hence, he cultivated an education, without being wearied by the monotony and drudgery of its labours; and he was at this time taught to feel the pleasure of triumphing over those who had condemned him to the slavery of his passions, and to the trammels of ignorance. To this he was particularly incited by his mother, whose resentments against the other faction, if with no better motive, implanted in her son this part of his education. The Regent treated with contempt the reports from time to

time brought her of the progress of her brother, Peter; she thought more of the licentious habits of himself and his little band, which would render him incompetent to assume the sovereignty, even should his friends make any movement in his behalf. She looked upon his military parades as idle frolics, and anticipated that his mind would be degraded by sensual enjoyments.

His companions urged upon him the necessity of his marrying, since, whichever of the two sovereigns might have an heir to the throne, he would be the most dear to the nation. Peter adopted their views; and from political motives only, at the age of sixteen, he married a Russian lady, Eudoxa, the daughter of Colonel Lapuchin. An unfortunate union it turned out; but his views were accomplished, since she produced him a son, who was called Alexis. Peter now assumed his share in the government: he was rapidly gaining ground in the public favour. The Regent was alarmed at his character; he boldly reproached her in the Senate for having her image stamped on the coin, and for affixing her name to the public documents, which he ordered to be discontinued; he reproached Galitzin for the failure of the expedition against the Turks, and he was disgraced. The people were disposed to adopt Peter for their sovereign, and the Regent saw that the only way to escape from him was by taking the life of her rival. Many quarrels ensued between them in the Senate; until at length they were brought to issue on the occasion of some religious ceremony about to take place, when they disputed who should preside over it—the Tzar or the Regent. It was a *fête* at which the Sovereigns of Russia always assisted. At break of day, Sophia appeared, clothed with all the ornaments of

supreme power; Peter arrived soon after, and, indignant at seeing her assumption of royalty, he retired from the church, and from the city, to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in which the Sovereigns of Russia were accustomed to seek refuge. The Regent now resolved on his assassination; she won over six hundred of the Strelitz, through their chief, Scheglovitoi, appointed by herself. They were dispatched to the monastery under cover of the night, to seek the young Tzar, who had been warned by his friends from Moscow of his danger.

His mother, trembling for her son, commanded the troops who were faithful to him to march to his aid. The call was obeyed with promptitude, and a regiment of the Strelitz, under Soukharef, who was faithful to Peter, immediately went to the monastery, and declared that they were resolved to guard their Prince from all his enemies. The force sent against him fell away when they saw that their enterprise was attended with danger; and the Regent, defeated in her design, affected to treat with good-will what she had failed to accomplish by treachery. She implored an amicable adjustment with Peter; she even employed the Patriarch to protest her innocence, and, to calm her brother, the Patriarch went to the monastery; but the proofs of her plots against the Tzar were produced, and he resisted all her terms short of her complete abandonment of her authority. She then proceeded to defend herself, but Peter would not see her, and she was peremptorily ordered to return to Moscow. He further commanded, that Scheglovitoi, the commander of the Strelitz bands that had come out against him, should be given up, and he was immediately beheaded. Sophia was now unable to offer any

resistance; she was deserted on all sides, and was obliged to renounce every right or title to the throne of Russia, which she had assumed. Her crafty minister, Galitzin, was banished to the borders of Archangel, on the royal bounty of three kopecks per day; great numbers of the Strelitz were put to death, with much of that cruelty which distinguished this barbarous age. The Regent was compelled to retire to a convent, where she spent the remainder of her days, though often engaged in intrigues against the government. It must be admitted, that this Princess conducted the public affairs of Russia, during some years, with much sagacity; and, that she was capable of governing: she guarded the interests of her elder brother, Ivan, and was jealous of those of her younger brother. She was older than the Tzarina, Natalie, against whose enmity and intrigues she had much to contend. Immediately after the execution of the rebellious Strelitz, Peter issued a proclamation, that for the future the name of the Regent should not be inserted in any public document; her image was struck out from the coinage, and her favourites and servants were dismissed from the Kremlin.

Peter returned to Moscow, where he began to exercise the sole sovereign authority, and this, too, with the consent of his elder brother, Ivan, who detested the crimes of his sister. Peter alone bore the name of Tzar; but he showed always a respectful regard for his brother, whom he used to consult on any affairs of importance. Ivan died in 1696.

The accession of Peter I. to the throne of Russia, forms, perhaps, the most important epoch in the annals of the "Sovereigns" of that country; and it will be well to pause for a moment amongst the people over whom he

was called upon to govern, in order to obtain a clearer view of the difficulties with which he had to contend, and the wonderful results attained by his genius and indefatigable industry. From the earliest periods, Russia had been ruled by the strong arm of despotism. The people, thus accustomed to servitude, were selfish and dishonest. The penalties among them were as rude as their manners were barbarous, and their punishments were horrible; with whom principle and honour had no influence. Peculation was punished by public whipping, or branding; and so ignorant were they, as to imagine their country to be the granary of the world, because the traders came to Archangel to purchase their grain. The sciences, particularly those of astronomy and anatomy, they considered to be diabolical arts. They wore the long vestments, according to the Asiatic mode, nor ever shaved the beard; there existed no such thing as society, since women, the connecting link, were banished from it as *having no souls*; religious superstition aided despotism, and lent it power; the father was as despotic in his wooden hut as the Tzar on his throne; all formed one vast and connected chain of slavery, which kept within the bounds of despotism all who sought to quit them. Any one going beyond the frontier, was deemed a traitor to his Prince; he was a fugitive slave and a rebel. Terror was the inspiring soul of the government, and slavery was such a scourge, that fathers were allowed to sell their children. Russian wives were not protected against the violence of their husbands, as drunkenness or passion inspired them. The peasants were not then bound down to the soil, but could hire themselves to whom they pleased for a certain time, or for life. We have seen

what a flail on Russia was the Tartar invasion; the distance and extension of the people were so great, that they could never be brought sufficiently in contact to act against the enemy; and, although the cities were populous, yet the Sovereign Princes had been always warring amongst themselves, hence the right of the strongest was every where predominant. There was no feudal service, as in other parts of Europe; but men were driven, like herds of cattle, into the ranks, and power alone could coerce them. The perpetual state of hostilities to which the cities had been exposed, led to the preponderance of the military government, which may be deemed the strongest of all, out of which organization at length sprang, by the aid of foreigners. The first orders of Russian nobility, the Boyars, has been noticed; the word "boye," "combat," implies valour—the origin of all ancient nobility.

The nobles were obliged to reside in the cities, being so dependent on the princes by whom they were governed. Instead of being feudal lords, they served rather as body-guards to their Prince, as were the early Janissaries of Constantinople, and the Gholaums of Persia, except that the former were the sons of Christian slaves, and the latter were native slaves. The nobles were so dependent on their princes, that they held their estates, and even their dignities, on condition of military service. This constituted them to be the vassals of the petty princes, who at length became vassals of the Grand Prince, when Russia acknowledged but one Sovereignty, and, from that time, made rapid progress in power and in civilization. Another important fact may be noticed, that, from the accession of Peter the First, Russia became less Asiatic and more European. He opened a way to Europe, which had never yet been known to the

country, by the Baltic Sea; he brought himself personally into his empire, those seeds of civilization and progress, which, even in these frozen regions, germinated, and brought forth such abundant fruit, which animated the minds of his people with such impulse, such agitation, such development of the human intellect, that they advanced from one discovery to another, until Russia stood high in the scale of nations. The founder of Peter's dynasty, the primate, Romanoff, had been conspicuous for his virtues, which had penetrated into the hearts of the Russians; hence, they were prepared for the glories of a reign which has had no parallel in the history of their country.

CHAPTER V.

Peter I.—Commencement of his Reign—Builds a Fleet—his Personal Activity—War with the Turks—Naval Successes—Takes the Fortress of Asoph—Rejoicings at Moscow—Conspiracy of the Strelitz against him—his Sanguinary Vengeance upon them—the Tzar departs on his Travels—Joins his own Embassy to Holland—his Arrival at Saardam—becomes a Ship Carpenter—Assumes the name of Peter Mikhailoff—News of the Victories of the Russians over the Turks—the Russian Embassy make their Public Entry into Amsterdam—Peter joins in their Train—Goes to The Hague—his Arrival in England—Goes to Kensington to visit the King—Much annoyed by the Curiosity of the English to see him—Visited by two Friends—their Discourse to him—Peter and his Attendants going to their Worship in Gracechurch Street—Visited at Deptford—the Tzar's indefatigable visits to the Manufactories in London—Goes to Westminster Hall—his Visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Bishop Burnet's Report of him—Dines with the King—Goes to the Houses of Parliament—a Ball at St. James's—his Visit to Deptford and Greenwich—Engages Engineers and Scientific Men to proceed to Russia—his Departure from England—Arrival at Amsterdam—his Visit to Germany—suddenly quits Vienna—Revolt of the Strelitz—Peter's unexpected Arrival at Moscow—his horrible Vengeance on the Strelitz—becomes his own Executioner—the People terrified—the Tzar's Reforms—Amends the Law of Marriage—Causes the Bible to be translated into the Sclavonian language—Institutes the Order of St. Andrew—Changes the Style of the Roman Calendar—the Death of Lefort—Rapid progress of the Russian Navy—Letter from an English Artificer at Varonetz—Foreign policy of the Tzar—War declared against Sweden—the disastrous Battle of Narva—great Consternation of the Russian people—Indefatigable Efforts of the Tzar to retrieve his Disasters—his Embarrassment with the King of Poland—Introduction of Tobacco into Russia—Peter's Familiarities with his Subjects—Renews Hostilities

against Sweden — Marches with the Army into Ingria — Siege of Marienburgh—History of the Captive Martha, the Livonian peasant —her Introduction to His Majesty — Successes over the Swedes— Founding the New City of St. Petersburgh—Astonishing proof of the Tzar's Genius—Rapid Progress of the Works—Great Sacrifice of Human Life—the Ancient Capitals of Russia—Objections made to the Site of the New City—Peter hastens the Works—Rapid Progress of the new Capital—the Tzar's Personal Labours—the New Port Opened—Arrival of a Vessel from Holland—Peter pilots her into St. Petersburgh—Astonishment of the Captain—Arrival of an English Vessel—his Liberality to the Captain and his Crew—Affairs of Poland—Augustus Deposed—Hostilities renewed with Sweden—their first Battle on the banks of the Berezina—Total Destruction and Route of the Swedish Army—Battle of Pultowa—Flight of Charles with the Remnant of his Army—Gallant Conduct and Bravery of the Tzar—his Description of the Battle—Peter's magnanimous Conduct to his Prisoners—his Triumphal Entry into Moscow—his Return to St. Petersburgh—Charles XII.'s Retreat to Bender—his Stirring up the Turks to Hostilities against the Tzar—the Porte declares War against Russia—Peter's public Marriage with Catherine—Character of the Tzarina—Russian Society at this period—New-Year's Day— the Tzar officiating at Church—his Hospitality—his Regulations for Public Assemblies—First Theatrical Representation at St. Petersburgh.

PETER I. now became the sole Sovereign of Russia in 1689, which may be deemed the most important era in Russian history: he was born in the Palace of the Kremlin, May 30 (o. s.), 1672; and lost his father whilst in his fifth year. This great empire was now to emerge from barbarism to civilization, from ignorance to knowledge, and was about to take her rank with the first nations of Europe. The race of the Ruriks had cultivated Russia more as an Asiatic than a European power; their customs, manners, and usages were all Eastern; but with the second dynasty, the Romanoffs, all their tendencies were Western. Mikhail, the first sovereign of this race, invited into his country the com-

merce of England and France; and his successor sent embassies into Spain, France, and Holland, for information respecting manufactures and ship-building.

Although the Tzar, Alexis, had organized a corps of dragoons disciplined in the European manner, yet the military forces of Russia at this time resembled more an undisciplined herd than a regular army; they were ill-paid, some well-armed and clothed, and others were badly off in these particulars, and likewise ignorant of the art of war; disorder, more than discipline, prevailed amongst them. Some master mind was requisite to direct these wild elements of which Russia was then composed, to break up old customs, and even to enlighten the country against the public will, since the rooted aversion of the Russians to foreigners, and their profound ignorance, had enslaved the national mind, and retarded the improvement of the people. The gross superstition in which they were held by the ignorant clergy, kept them in blind submission to a church whose teachings consisted principally of minute points of outward show—such as prostrations to the images of saints, observances of fasts, and a slavish obedience to their priests.

A mighty revolution was now about to be effected. Russian power, Russian glory, and Russian aggrandizement were to be unfolded, by the greatest genius which had then appeared on the canvass of history—by a man possessing indomitable courage, great bodily strength, sound judgment, inflexible perseverance, and devotedness to a cause which no obstacles could weary, much less deter him from his purpose. He could mould the old elements, as it were, into new forms, and animate them by his genius to new life; the raw material was

stubborn, but he gave it new power and semblance; and over all obstacles order triumphed. His education by the two foreigners already alluded to, inspired him with the desire not only to travel himself, but to send the young nobles of his country throughout Europe, to learn the arts, naval and military; which, in spite of their prejudices, he succeeded in doing. He gave great encouragement to strangers to come to Russia, which excited jealousy amongst his subjects; but Peter despised their resistance. He formed an army, disciplined like European troops; and carried into execution the plan commenced by his father, to construct a navy, the difficulties of which were so great, since the geographical position of Russia was a serious impediment to it. Russia had no ports, and was without avenues to the sea, being bounded by mountains and wastes, and her waters locked in ice for more than half the year. The Tzar must open her to the Baltic and the Euxine, that so she may communicate freely with Europe, from whence might flow in that tide of commerce and civilization which was to build up his great empire.

The small military corps which Peter had formed in his retired village of Preobazinski, beginning with about fifty of his young domestics, who were officered by some sons of the Boyars, was soon augmented to five thousand men, composed principally of foreigners, and disciplined by Colonel Patrick Gordon, a Scotchman, who, under the Tzar Alexis, had entered the Russian service; he was present at the taking of Asoph in 1698, and was taken prisoner by the Swedes at the battle of Narva, and sent into Sweden, where he was detained for several years. On his return, he was advanced in rank, and sent into Poland. The regiment

of Preobazinski Guards originated with this corps, which subsequently so often wielded the destinies of Russia, and another regiment of guards was formed, called the Semenouski. The first war in which the Tzar was engaged, was with the Turks, when General Gordon marched with his regiment of five thousand men, and Lefort with his corps of twelve thousand men. A corps of Strelitz, commanded by Skein, a corps of Cossacs, and a train of artillery, formed the whole of the expedition. The Tzar served in the army as a volunteer, for the purpose of this Turkish war; and made forced contributions upon his subjects, which rendered him very unpopular.

The Russians were first engaged in the siege of Asoph, a very difficult enterprise, since it was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. This was the first time that they had been engaged in scientific warfare, and here Peter learned the principles of the military art. The siege was unsuccessful, but the campaign was renewed in the following year, when the fleet which the Tzar had built at Varonej, defeated the Turkish fleet in their own harbour—such was the beginning of armed Russian vessels navigating any sea, and they decided the fate of Asoph: this success was most flattering to the Tzar, since his little fleet had defeated ships sent from Constantinople, more complete, and better commanded; the fortress was taken, and surrendered into the hands of the victors. The Turks were alarmed at the success of the Russian fleet—the first that had ever appeared in these seas. The Tzar intended to fortify Asoph, and thus to render himself master of the mouth of the Euxine, and he had a grand project of driving the Turks and the Tartars from the Krimea, and to establish a line

of commerce with Persia and Georgia. The immediate use which Peter made of his victory, was to augment the number of his fleet; his return to Moscow was celebrated by a triumphal procession of the army, which was designed as a testimony to their bravery, and to inspire his people with enthusiasm for a service in which they had been so successful. Peter showed the greatness of his mind by mixing amongst the subordinate officers, and following in the crowd, whilst to Skein, the commander of the army, and to Lefort, as the admiral of the fleet, all the honours were awarded. On this occasion, the first medal was struck in Russia, having on one side "Peter the First, Emperor of Muscovy, always auguste," and on the reverse was Asoph, with these words—"Conqueror by the flames, and by the waters."

This success so elated the Tzar, that on his return to Moscow he ordered fresh ships to be built, capable of carrying from thirty to sixty guns; and heavy contributions were levied for this service. Peter had thus early formed great designs to extend the commercial progress of Russia: he contemplated by this armament that he should have the command of the Palus Mæotis, as the best and most practicable mode of driving the Tartars out of the Krimea, and also of opening a free communication with Circassia and Georgia, and through these countries to establish a commercial intercourse with Persia.* And we shall find, by the progress of Russian history, that these anticipations have been fully accomplished. Peter, in order to commemorate his first victory over the Turks, and to impress the people with its great importance, seeing that it had

* Voltaire.

been gained by a fleet and an army of his own creating, had it celebrated by a triumphal procession into Moscow, amidst the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells, in order to excite the people with enthusiasm for a service in which he had been so successful. Admiral Lefort, with the naval and military officers, marched in processsion, taking precedence of the Tzar, who showed the greatness of his mind by mixing amongst the subordinate officers, and following in the crowd; whilst to the commanders of the army and navy all the honours were awarded. The procession was followed by the prisoners taken at Asoph, amongst whom was a traitor in the Tzar's camp, named Jacob, to whom was attributed his first failure against Asoph, having betrayed his designs to the enemy.

The Tzar having determined upon building a large fleet, issued a proclamation, calling upon the nobles and the clergy to furnish contributions for the same, and the demand was enforced under heavy penalties. Besides the usual taxes paid for the support of the war, he obliged several of his richest Boyars to build each of them a ship at his own expense, but allowed them the honour of giving their own names to the vessels. The monasteries, cities, and towns were called upon to furnish their proportion towards the expenses of ship-building, and those who did not do so in proper time, their tax was to be doubled. He employed Dutch and Italian ship-builders, and sent young Russians into Italy and Holland to learn the art of ship-building; others were sent into Germany to be disciplined in the German armies. The Tzar was thought to have had another motive for dispersing them, to prevent any dangers from their meeting together in his absence,

since the murmurs and discontents of the people soon broke out into loud remonstrances. Peter had likewise, by so many innovations, alarmed them, and so terrified their ancient bigotry, that they were both indignant and surprised. He was every day to be seen in the most ordinary dress, making his way through the streets to go to the workshops of the artisans, where he would spend a great part of his time, or in exercising the troops in the great square of the Kremlin; this they contrasted with their former Tzars, who were seldom seen in public, and then surrounded by guards, and kept at a great distance from the awe-struck people, the sovereign bearing with him all the solemnity of Asiatic pomp. They could not comprehend a Tzar living and moving about like themselves, and descending from the splendours of a throne, not only to mingle with the people, but to take part in the labours of the workmen; believing him to be the representative of Heaven, their faith in his supremacy was shaken; and they deemed him to be a heretic who could cast aside the mysteries and the splendour which had heretofore surrounded the Sovereigns of Russia. Such were the prejudices which Peter had to combat; but he treated the nobility with contempt, and took into his confidence common burghers, merit being with him the sole distinction. In his vast enterprise to make Russia a European empire, the Tzar felt that he must concentrate the power within himself; he became, therefore, despotic as well as energetic.

He was equally restless in his conduct towards the priests, whom he made no attempt to conciliate; the people, who had been brutalized by slavery, alone occupied his attention. He had, as it were, to enforce improvement upon them in spite of themselves, and

they obstinately resisted his measures. Discontent was now at its height; the Strelitz took advantage of it, and entered into a conspiracy to take the life of the Tzar. They proposed to set fire to the city at night, and, as it was the custom of the Sovereign to show himself in the streets on such occasions, and to superintend the extinction of the flames, they plotted to murder him in the crowd, and then to release the Princess Sophia from the convent, and place her on the throne. The house of one of the leaders of this infamous plot, Sulkanin, was the place of rendezvous, where a great number of the conspirators were assembled. Here, at a banquet given by him, they drank deeply, to inspire themselves with courage for the slaughter of their Prince. Two of them, under the influence of intoxication, relented; they went and disclosed the plot to Peter, who immediately ordered a troop of the guards to invest the house precisely at eleven o'clock, intending to have given his orders for ten o'clock. In order to be there by the time appointed, the Tzar went to the house, attended by one domestic only, precisely at that time, and was astonished at not finding the troops already in attendance. He fearlessly entered the house whilst the conspirators were yet occupied with their carouse; they were startled at seeing him, and Peter, concealing his astonishment, said that, seeing the house lighted up, he supposed they were enjoying themselves, and had entered to drink with them: then, seating himself at the table, he filled his glass and drank to their health with the greatest seeming cordiality, and they could not avoid returning his courtesy. Peter watched all their motions narrowly, without seeming to do so; the conspirators grew bold at his seeming heedlessness, when

one of them, stooping over the table, said to Sulkanin, in a low voice, "Now is the time;" to which the other replied, "Not yet;" when Peter, hearing the footsteps of the guards, struck the traitor a blow on the face, and said, "If it is not time for thee to consecrate thy crime, it is time for me to punish thee!" At this moment, the guards entered: the conspirators were terror-stricken; they fell at the Tzar's feet and implored for mercy, and made a full confession of their crime.

Peter now turned to the captain, and reproached him for not being punctual to the hour, when he produced the Tzar's written order for *eleven* instead of *ten* o'clock. The conspirators now craved for pardon, but Peter was inexorable; he ordered the soldiers to put them in chains, and committed the custody of them to the captain of the guards. On the following day, a most terrible process followed, the penalty being even greater than the crime. The culprits were first condemned to the rack, and, whilst under these agonies, their members were slowly mutilated until life became extinct, when he caused their heads to be placed on the summit of a column, surrounded by their mangled limbs; and, though such a punishment was congenial with the rugged manners of the times, yet the sight of it threw the populace into horror. This ferocious proof of the Tzar's boldness effectually checked all murmurs of discontent; even the Strelitz were appalled at his sanguinary vengeance on their comrades; and, although they for a time suppressed their rage, yet it continued to slumber for some future opportunity, only to burst out again upon their Sovereign.

Tranquillity was now restored at home, and the Tzar had obtained, by the treaty of Carlovitz, an armistice of

two years with the Ottoman Porte. The death of the Tzar's half-brother, Ivan Alexeovitz, has been already noticed; which occurred in the month of February, 1696. He had retired for a long time from the affairs of state, to a monastery, where his time was principally spent in acts of devotion. He was buried with much pomp in the church of St. Michael at Moscow; and left behind him three daughters, one of whom, the Princess Anne, became a Sovereign of Russia.

Peter had long contemplated travelling in Europe, not only to acquaint himself with the manners and customs of the different countries, but to study the character of their sovereigns, whom he knew only through their ambassador's reports; and as at this time the Tzar was not represented in any of the courts of Europe, he, therefore, determined to send his friend and mentor, Lefort, on an extraordinary embassy to the States-general of Holland; the three persons selected for this embassy were General Lefort, Alexis Gollowin, and Varistrin, secretary for foreign affairs. Peter was likewise desirous to be instructed in the art of ship-building, which at this period occupied his particular attention.

"It was a thing," says Voltaire, "unparalleled in history, either ancient or modern, for a sovereign of five-and-twenty years of age to withdraw from his kingdom for the sole purpose of learning the art of government." The Tzar appointed a regency during his absence, at the head of which was an old Boyar, Radomanovsky, in whom he had great confidence; and General Gordon, at the head of 12,000 well-disciplined troops, principally Frenchmen, was left to protect the capital against any revolt of the insurgents. The retinue of the embassy consisted of four principal secretaries, twelve noblemen and gentle-

men, and a company of fifty of the Preobazinski guards, with their officers—the whole consisting of 200 persons. The Tzar joined them as a private individual, having in his train only a valet, a livery servant, and a dwarf, and accompanied by his favourite, Menzikoff.

They commenced their journey in April, 1697, proceeding through Esthonia and Livonia; the Russians made a grand display in their long robes, bordered with rich furs, pearls, and diamonds, their bonnets of marten skin, and having large scymitars suspended from their girdles, whilst the strangers preserved the German dress. The embassy passed from Livonia into Sweden, and from thence into Prussia, whilst Peter acquainted himself with the military positions, and internal resources of the different countries. At Riga, he was taken for a spy, in consequence of his visiting the fortifications, which was prohibited to strangers. The piquets had an order from the governor to fire upon any one going beyond the prescribed boundaries, which the Tzar had done under the pretence of visiting a Dutch vessel, and even of hiring one; this affront led subsequently to an excuse for declaring war against Sweden. Peter, being impatient to arrive at his destination, left the embassy, and took a small vessel for Amsterdam, in which he arrived, dressed like a Dutch skipper, in a red jacket and white linen trousers, fifteen days before the embassy reached that city; the Tzar immediately recognised a man by the name of Kist, who had formerly worked as a smith in Russia, whose surprise can be scarcely imagined at seeing his Majesty arrive in this guise in Holland; more particularly when he said he wanted lodgings, and would wish to take them with him, giving him, at the same time, strict

injunctions not to name who his lodger was, since he did not wish to be known; and to the crowds that collected around him, he said that they were all carpenters and labourers from a foreign country, who had come in search of work.

At Saardam, he established himself in a miserable lodging near the dockyard, and took the name of Peter Mikhailoff, and inscribed himself amongst the ships' carpenters; he was clothed like them, and worked amongst them in the construction of a vessel, called the "St. Peter and Paul," which he subsequently sent to Archangel. He worked with the utmost regularity from morning to night, in common with the rest of the men, and received his wages like them; but what was the more extraordinary, he would live upon the stipend which he earned, whilst his companions, who could not so well enter into the joke, resided in a comfortable house, and enjoyed all the luxuries of civilization. His fellow-workmen commonly called him Master Peter, and he worked with them at the forges, at the rope-yards, and every branch of ship-building; but the Tzar could not preserve his "incognito," which annoyed him exceedingly, for he had a great aversion to be noticed. The secret was soon divulged. Among the crowd was a barber from Amsterdam, to whom a Dutch agent at Archangel had written, to say that the Tzar was accompanying the Russian embassy in disguise, and in the letter had sent a print of him; and pointing him to the crowd, said—"That is the Tzar;" nor could he possibly be mistaken, and his appearance at this time is thus described:—"Tall and robust, quick and nimble of foot, dexterous, and rapid in all his actions; his face is plump and round, fierce in his look,

with brown eyebrows, and short curling hair of a brownish colour."

It was at this time that the carpenter, Peter Mikhailoff, from his hut at Saardam, gave instructions to General Skein, then acting against the Turks, by which he gained a complete victory over the Tartars, near Asoph; and some months after, his troops took the town of Orkassi, and prosecuted the war most successfully. On this occasion, he received the congratulations of all the foreign ministers then at Amsterdam, except the ambassador of France, who was offended at the Tzar having espoused the cause of Augustus, King of Poland, against the Prince of Conti, whom his royal master patronized; in retaliation for which, the Tzar declared he would not extend his travels to France. A grand entertainment was given by his Majesty to the different officers of the government and the principal merchants of Amsterdam, who, with their wives and daughters, were invited. The entertainment was followed by bands of music, and in the evening by dancing, illuminations, and fire-works. In every respect, the Tzar entertained his friends like an emperor.

The indefatigable activity of the Tzar both astonished and amazed the Dutch, who had never witnessed before such running, jumping, and clambering over the shipping; he was frequently on the water, sometimes for several hours in the day. The curiosity of the Dutch brought swarms of them from the capital on Sundays and holidays; they even crowded the house-tops in the street where he lodged. But his Majesty confined himself to the house at such times, and would never be seen. He had a great aversion to encounter the public gaze; he was shy, and in this respect timid; but the

crowd would not be so easily put off; they besieged his door, and desired to see him; his answer was, "By-and-bye;" but, observing the multitude to increase, he was so annoyed that it threw him into a violent rage, and he became convulsed. To these convulsions Peter had been subject from early youth, occasioned by the fright he received when the Strelitz forced themselves into the Troitza Convent, and held a sword over his head, when by his mother's side, before the altar, as already related. Although he was then only ten years of age, yet it affected him to the time of his death; the convulsions generally came upon him when much excited, and were evinced by a contortion of the neck towards the left side, and by a twitching of the muscles of the face, which lasted sometimes for hours; and he was so sensitive to these convulsions, that even the sight of a black beetle would bring on the paroxysms.

The Tzar's industry was such, that he would lend a helping hand to every thing connected with ship-building, rope-making, smiths' work, &c. A few men were one day carrying a large beam of wood, close by the spot where Peter was at the time, one of them called out, "Peter Timmerman! why don't you assist these men?" and he immediately placed his shoulder under the log, and helped to carry it to its proper place. He was known at different places by different names; sometimes as Master Bass, Peter Timmerman, and Peter Mikhailoff. Not satisfied with working himself in the dockyard, he insisted that Menzikoff, Gollowin, and another should take part in his labours, to make themselves acquainted with boat-building and mast-making. Menzikoff made some progress, but complained much of his sore hands; they all, except Peter, affected to

consider their labour as an amusement only; latterly they lived in a large house together, and enjoyed themselves with frolic and fun, as some relaxation from their toils.

The embassy now made their public entry into Amsterdam, on which the Tzar determined to suspend his labours and join the procession. The three ambassadors were followed by a long train of carriages, with richly-dressed livery servants on foot; but Peter was in one of the last carriages, habited only like a private gentleman; he took no part in the ceremony, and, therefore, escaped recognition, which he was at all times anxious to avoid. The presentation of the ambassadors was got up with all that magnificence which their High Mightinesses were able and accustomed to display, to whom the ambassadors presented, at their audience, six hundred marten skins and sables, the richest which Siberia could produce, and each of them in return were presented with a gold chain and a medal, and besides which, three magnificent coaches; they received the visits of the different foreign ambassadors, then at the Congress of Ryswick, except that of France; the king of that country intending to show some slight to the Tzar, from his having taken part against him in the election of the King of Poland.

Peter was very glad to return again to Saardam to resume his labours, which were interrupted a second time, by a visit which he thought necessary to pay to William, King of England, who was then at Utrecht; his Majesty's speech to the King on that occasion, which was composed for him by one of his scribes, was rather lofty for the ship-carpenter of Saardam, beginning with the following:—"Most renowned Emperor,—It was not

the desire of seeing the celebrated cities of the German Empire, or the most powerful Republic of the universe, that made me leave my throne, and my victorious armies to come into a distant country—it was solely the ardent desire of paying my respects to the most brave and generous hero of the day."

Peter's thirst after knowledge was insatiable, nor was it always unattended with danger. On one occasion, he was nearly entangled in the machinery of a windmill; on another, he fell from the top of one of the large cranes in the admiralty wharf of Amsterdam, when his foot slipped, and he was precipitated to the pavement, and injured his leg; he would likewise carry so much sail in his little bark, that he was frequently in danger of being upset; nothing was considered by him too troublesome when acquiring knowledge; he visited the whaling vessels—inquired into the manner of catching the whales—cutting out the bone, and every thing relative to the whale-fishing; he visited all the manufactories, constantly inquiring—"What is it?" He would even attend dissections in the hospitals, where he learned to bleed, and, on his return to Russia, he followed, with great advantage, the knowledge so acquired among the workmen and the army, particularly that of bleeding, for which purpose he carried about with him a small case of surgical instruments. The Tzar finished his labours as a ship-carpenter, by assisting to put together a small yacht, which was presented to him by the States-General; he was constant in his attendance during the building of it, and, when completed, he gave it the name of the "Amsterdam."

The Tzar had now passed nine months in Holland, principally at Saardam, and, in the middle of January,

1698, he departed for the Hague, to have an interview with King William, when he took an affectionate leave of his friends and fellow-workmen, who parted from him with great regret. His visit to England had been arranged with the King, who sent over his own yacht and two ships of war, commanded by Admiral Mitchel, when the Tzar, accompanied by Menzikoff and others, departed for London on the 18th January, 1698. He had stipulated with his Majesty to be treated only as a private gentleman. A large house was taken for him at the bottom of York Buildings. The day after his arrival he went to Kensington, to pay a visit to the King: on Saturday he went to the opera "incognito," and the next day went again to Kensington in a hackney-coach, and returned at night to his lodgings, when he was attended by several of the King's servants.

The Tzar was more annoyed at the curiosity of the people to see him in London, than even he had been in Holland; they were continually mobbing him in the streets, and on one occasion a porter drove him into the kennel. He was extremely indignant, and was about to knock him down, when his friends interfered, and assured him that it was in the anxious desire to see him the accident had occurred: they would even intrude into his lodgings, and, by bribing the King's servants, they made their way into the room where he was eating. This boisterous greeting of the English so disgusted the Tzar, that he would sometimes rise from table, and leave the room in a rage. Amongst other visiters were two Quakers, who forced themselves into his presence; one of them, Thomas Storey, gives a very long and amusing account of the interview, and of what passed between them and his Tzarian Majesty, through their inter-

preter, of which the following is a slight sketch:—"Anno 1697; at this time Peter the Great, Tzar of Muscovy, being in London, incog., and Gilbert Mollyson, Robert Barclay's wife's brother, having heard that a kinsman of his was in the Tzar's service, and being desirous to increase the knowledge of the truth, requested me to go with him in quest of his kinsman to the Tzar's residence, a large house at the bottom of York Buildings, in order to present him with some of "Robert Barclay's Apologies" in Latin, hoping that, by this means, they might fall under the Tzar's notice, and be subservient to the end proposed."

On arrival at the house, they found that the Tzar's interpreter was a Muscovy merchant, whom he had known in his own country. When the Tzar came in, and Prince Menzikoff, according to their own statement, they did not show much respect to these great personages, when the interpreter asked them—"Why do you not pay respect to great persons, when you are in their presence," to which Storey answered—"So we do when we are fully sensible of it, especially to kings and princes." To this the Tzar made no reply, but talked with the interpreter, who then asked—"Of what use can you be in any kingdom or government, seeing you will not bear arms and fight?" to this I replied—"That many of us had borne arms in times past, and been in many battles, and fought with great courage and magnanimity, and thought it lawful and a duty then, in days of ignornnce, and I myself have worn a sword and other arms, and knew how to use them; but when it pleased God to reveal, in our hearts, the life and power of Jesus Christ, his son, our Lord, who is the Prince of Righteousness and Peace, whose command-

ment is love, we were then reconciled unto God, to one another, unto our enemies, and to all mankind."

This long speech, whether or not faithfully translated to the Tzar, seems to have made considerable impression upon him; for he took several long turns in the gallery, returned, and looked steadfastly upon them, of whom they took no notice, not pretending to know that he was the great Tzar of Muscovy; they left with the interpreter some of "Barclay's Apologies" in Latin, when the Sovereign and his general, Menzikoff, retired to their apartments. But it appears that the visit of the Quakers was not forgotten by them; for early in the following week they attended one of their morning meetings for worship in Gracechurch-street, with a great company of attendants, and all dressed in the English fashion. "Robert Haddock had begun to preach before they came in, upon the subject of 'Naaman, the captain-general of the host of the Assyrians, going to the prophet for the cure of his leprosy.'"

Nothing seems to have annoyed the Tzar more than the gaze of the multitude. On this occasion, he had been recognised in the streets; the people flocked to the meeting-house, and, crowding around him to see him more perfectly, he suddenly took his departure, with all his attendants, before the service was over. These pertinacious Quakers followed his Majesty even to Deptford—William Penn, George Whitehead, and others—and presented him with some books in the Dutch language, which, they were told, he understood. William Penn spoke the language fluently, when a conversation ensued between them, in which, it was said, the Tzar was much interested, and that the interview was very satisfactory to him. He afterwards attended their meet-

ings for worship at Deptford, where he conducted himself with all the solemnity of their spiritual service. These services seem to have made much impression on the mind of Peter the Great; for it is related of him that, sixteen years after, when he was at Frederickstadt, in Holstein, with 5,000 men, to assist the Danes against the Swedes, he asked if there were any Quakers in the place; and, on being told that there were, he signified his intention of attending the meeting; and accordingly when, followed by Prince Menzikoff, General Dolgorouky, and other great men, they went to the worship, the attendants could only show their respect for it by their silence; but the Tzar took frequent opportunities of explaining to them the discourse, observing, when it was over, that—"Whoever would live according to such doctrines would be happy." Such is the substance of Thomas Storey's report of the Tzar's interviews with the Quakers.—(*Circumlocutions Expunged.*)

The Tzar, during one month's residence in London, saw almost every thing that was worth notice; he visited the manufactories and workshops of various artisans, and made large purchases of things the most curious and useful; amongst others, he bought "the famous geographical clock, made by Mr. John Carte, watchmaker, at the sign of the Dial and Crown, near Essex-street, in the Strand, which clock tells what hour it is in any part of the world, whether it is day or night, the sun's rising and setting throughout the year, its entrance into the signs of the zodiac, the arch which they and the sun in them make above or below the horizon, with several other curious motions." He was very particular in examining the mechanism of a watch, and, it is said, he could take one of these in-

genious machines to pieces, and put it together again before he left London.

Peter was much amused at vising the Courts of Westminster, constantly inquiring about the busy people in black gowns and wigs, and what they were doing, and, on being answered that they were lawyers—"Lawyers!" said he, with much astonishment, "why, I have but *two* in my whole dominions, and I believe I shall hang one of them the moment I get home." He was introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, to whom he expressed a desire to see the different churches of the metropolis, and to observe the mode of worship. The Primate appointed Bishop Burnet to accompany his Majesty, from whom we have a long report of the Tzar's character and conduct in London, amongst which is the following—"He is a man of very hot temper, soon influenced, and very brutal in his passions; he raises his natural heat by drinking much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application; he is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these; he wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent. A want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently; he is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince. This was his chief study and exercise while he stayed here; he wrought much with his own hands, and made all about him work at his model of ships. He was desirous to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in Muscovy; there is a mixture both of passion and severity in his

temper; he is resolute, but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive in that way. After I had seen him often, and conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the providence of God, that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over so great a part of the world."

The Tzar dined with the King at Kensington, when he was prevailed upon to see the ceremony of his Majesty going to the House of Lords, to pass some bills of Parliament; he had a great objection to being seen, but he must gratify his curiosity: they therefore put him on the top of the house, where, from a window, he could see all that was passing, when his grotesque figure occasioned so much merriment to the King and all below, that his Tzarian Majesty was obliged to descend quicker than he intended.

The Marquis of Carmarthen acted as his guide to all places of public amusement; he went two or three times only to the theatre, but, from not knowing the language, he took very little interest in what was going on. At a ball at St. James's, to which the Tzar was invited, instead of mixing with the company he was put into a small room, where he could see all without being seen. His aversion to the public gaze was so great, that he could not be prevailed upon to go into the body of the House of Commons to hear the debates, but looked down upon it from a hole in the ceiling. Never was any monarch so shy as the great Tzar of Muscovy. His delight was, when at Deptford, to get into a small boat belonging to the dockyard, with Menzikoff and two or three others, when he would be the helmsman, and teach them how to command ships when they got home. Having finished their day's work, they used to resort to

a public-house to drink beer and brandy peppered; brandy was the Tzar's favourite beverage. His Majesty was a hard drinker: on one occasion, when coming from Deptford, he was lodged at the house of Mr. Morley, where, for his morning entertainment, he drank a pint of brandy and a bottle of sherry, and at dinner he drank eight more bottles of sack, and after that went to the playhouse. His fondness for sailing was as great in England as in Holland. Some gentlemen were appointed to attend him daily on the Thames, and the Admiralty gave orders that two vessels should be at his command whenever his Majesty should think proper to sail on the Thames. The king made him a present of the "Royal Transport," with orders to have such alterations made in her as his Tzarian Majesty might desire, and to alter her masts and rigging in such a way as might improve her sailing qualities. A grand naval review was ordered by the King at Portsmouth in the month of March with which to entertain his Tzarian Majesty, and Vice-Admiral Mitchell commanded the flag-ship—the fleet consisting of eleven men-of-war and some frigates. The ships were divided into two squadrons, and performed two sham fights, every ship firing three broadsides aloft, without shot.

"Peter was delighted with every thing he saw of the British navy, and told Admiral Mitchell that he deemed the condition of an English admiral far happier than that of a Tzar of Russia." His attention was very much attracted by the magnificent building of Greenwich Hospital, and could scarcely imagine it to be any thing but a royal palace. When told that it was an asylum for decayed seamen, he answered the King, on being inquired of him what he thought of it, "If I were the adviser of your Majesty, I

should counsel you to remove your Court to Greenwich, and convert St. James's into an hospital." At the end of the month, the Tzar went to Deptford, where accommodations were prepared for him near the King's dockyard, at the house of the celebrated "Evelyn," through the boundary-wall of which a door was opened to the dockyard, to afford an easy communication. Peter, at his departure, presented a hundred and twenty guineas to the King's servants, but to his Majesty he presented a rough ruby, valued at ten thousand pounds sterling. It is not quite certain that the Tzar worked in the dockyard at Deptford, although it is thought that he did so for a short time, for the purpose of showing the builders that he knew how to handle the tools as well as themselves. Here he requested to see the celebrated Dr. Halley, who spoke German fluently. He asked the doctor's advice and opinions on various subjects, and communicated to him his plan of building a fleet, and of introducing the arts and sciences into his country. He afterwards visited him at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. The King had promised the Tzar that every facility should be afforded him of engaging Englishmen of science, and artificers, to pass into Russia. He, therefore, employed Mr. Ferguson, a Scotchman, an excellent mathematician, who, accompanied by two students from Christ's Hospital, went into Russia.

Perry, an engineer, was likewise engaged to superintend the construction of harbours, sluices, and bridges, the Tzar having a grand scheme in view—that of opening a communication, by means of canals, between the Caspian and the Black Sea. He selected several other workmen in branches of civil, military, and naval architecture. The number of all descriptions of persons that

finally left England when the Tzar returned to Holland, amounted to nearly five hundred; and, to convey them, the Admiralty directed Vice-Admiral Mitchell to take under his orders two of his Majesty's ships, with five yachts, to take them all to Holland; and to take the Tzar's pleasure as to what port he may wish to proceed. Peter finally took leave of the King, with whom, it was said, he was a great favourite; and the Tzar had a high opinion of his Majesty, whom he consulted on all important occasions. Sir Godfrey Kneller painted a good picture and an excellent likeness of him, which may be now seen in Windsor Castle.* [9]

Peter returned to Amsterdam, and from thence went to Germany, where he had several conferences with the Emperor, at Vienna. Both politics and instruction were his motives for the journey—the Emperor was a necessary ally of the Tzar against the Turks, and he wished to see the military discipline of the German troops.

Leo entertained Peter with some court fêtes, in which (it is said) the Tzar took a part; and, just as he was on the eve of his departure for Italy, where an embassy had proceeded under General Scheremetoff, whilst the other ambassadors had gone to Vienna, news was brought him of a revolt at home among the Strelitz. A body of them, consisting of ten thousand men, had been ordered to the frontiers of Poland, to assist Augustus, Elector of Saxony, in his election to the throne of that country, the Tzar having espoused his cause against that of the Prince of Conti, who was patronized by the King of France.' The Strelitz rebelled against these orders, and were said to have been induced to do so by Sophia, the Tzar's sister, who, although in a convent, was always intriguing against his government. She had infused

* See frontispiece.

into the minds of the people that the Tzar intended to subvert their holy religion—that he was bringing a host of foreigners with him, to change the ancient manners and customs of their country—and that the first thing he intended to do, was to annihilate the whole corps of the Strelitz.

Peter's family were alarmed at the insurrection, and took refuge in the Troitza Monastery. Skein and Gordon, at the head of eight thousand men, marched against the rebels, and encountered them at ten versts from Moscow; they exhorted them to submission, and promised in such case the pardon of their Sovereign: these terms the rebels obstinately refused—they had given out a report that the Tzar had died abroad, and that they must proceed to Moscow to proclaim the succession of his son, Alexis. They were much instigated to this revolt by the priests, who, incensed against Peter for his foreign alliances with heretics, declared that their cause was sacred and invulnerable. Skein and Gordon, finding their exhortations useless, and still desirous to win them over, ordered the artillery to fire upon them, loaded with powder only: the rebels seeing that no one was hurt, a priest amongst them cried out "A miracle!" and assured them that God had taken away the force of the arms of the tyrant; this gave the rebels fresh courage, when the General determined not to spare them. The artillery was immediately brought to bear upon their ranks, which made such havoc among them that they soon surrendered, laid down their arms, and implored for mercy. They were taken prisoners and thrown into chains, to await the Tzar's arrival, who was not long in reaching his capital. He departed secretly from Vienna, passed rapidly into Poland, where he saw King

Augustus (incog.), and with whom he concerted measures for aggrandizing his states on the coast of the Baltic, he at length arrived at Moscow, surprising all the world by his presence. His entrance was the moment of vengeance, and here he shewed himself the imitator of "Ivan the Terrible," in his ferocious vengeance on the rebels, when he became his own executioner, and stained his hands with the blood of his subjects.

On the day after his arrival, to the great astonishment of the people, he showed himself at the palace windows, when they believed him to have been at Vienna, or in London. Proceedings were immediately commenced against the rebels; but he first ordered sumptuous rewards to be given to the soldiers and others who had distinguished themselves against them. All suspected persons concerned in the revolt were ordered before the assembled Boyars, senators, and military officers, in his presence, and many of them were immediately sentenced to death. Orders were given to arrest all the disaffected, whether men, women, nobles, or serfs, when the executions began; and so sanguinary were they, as almost to equal the butcheries of the bloody Ivan. Peter, not satisfied with ordinary cruelty, spared no pains to prolong the dying agonies of his victims. He would feast his eyes with the exhibition, and, becoming his own executioner, he prided himself on his dexterity (it is said), that, with the wine-cup in one hand, and the axe in the other, he drank twenty successive draughts, and smote off twenty successive heads, within the hour. He is supposed to have struck off a hundred heads with his own hands; and, when appealed to for mercy by Lefort, the Tzar's friend, he replied, "I will be sovereign—the people shall obey me, or perish!"

It is frightful to relate the number of victims who were sacrificed to the Tzar's fury during five months that Russia was destined to witness the axe, the gibbet, and the wheel, in constant activity. More than ten thousand people are supposed to have perished during this massacre, and the revolt of the Strelitz was the occasion not merely of vengeance on them, but on all those whom he thought to be disaffected to his government; and, in order to inspire terror amongst the people, every sort of torment was inflicted, with the most refined cruelty. The whole of Moscow was a vast butchery of human victims; two thousand of the bodies were suspended around the walls, and gibbets were covered with them. As the executions took place in the winter, the bodies, which soon became frozen, were kept until the spring, when they were thrown into the ditches.

The whole empire was terrified, and the name of Peter became as terrible as even that of Ivan himself;* even his Consort was suspected, and was banished for life to the cloisters; but the Princess Sophia, who was supposed to have instigated the Strelitz to revolt, he took no vengeance upon, and at her death testified the greatest grief at the loss of his "dear sister," and shed tears over her tomb. All these terrible punishments did not prevent some outbreaks in the following year, fomented by the Strelitz, eighty of whom were taken, and dragged to Moscow in chains, where they were beheaded. This armed force Peter now totally disbanded, by drafting them into different regiments of the army, disciplined by European officers. The Tzar having now completely established his despotism over the people, through the

* These cruelties of the Tzar are denied by some writers, but I quote from Levesque and Segur.—AUTHOR.

influence of fear, it was thought that he would have almost depopulated Russia itself, had it been possible, and to have nationalized colonies of strangers, such was the rancour of his resentment at the late revolt; he now began his reforms, and the first order was, that his subjects should no longer wear their beards, but be shaved according to the fashion of Europe. The dress of the Russian soldier, which was copied from the Tartars, was highly inconvenient, and prevented the proper discipline of the army; they wore a long coat, reaching to the heels, which was belted round the waist with a girdle; they had loose drawers, not unlike a petticoat, a high conical cap on the head, and had a black bushy beard. The attack on the beard was the most dangerous innovation which Peter could make on his subjects, since the Russians were obstinately attached to their beard, and they were frightened at his orders, which extended not only to the military, but to all other classes of his subjects; even those who were friendly disposed to his reforms, beheld with horror this innovation, which did not escape the Tzar, who was most desirous to remove this visible bar of separation between the Russians and other Europeans. So great was the innovation deemed on their Asiatic customs, of wearing the beard and the long robe, that some of the most ignorant thought it equal to renouncing their religion, and would as soon lose their head as their beard. A ukase was published in 1705, imposing a tax, varying from thirty to one hundred roubles per annum, upon all those who wore either beards or mustaches, according to the rank of the individual. The clergy were exempted from it, and a modification was made in favour of the peasant, who was only required to pay two dengas, or one copeck, whenever

he passed through the gate of a town. This ukase proved most offensive to the people, and so much discontent was manifested on its being enforced, that the greatest vigilance became necessary to prevent an outbreak among the people. In 1722, another decree was promulgated, ordering all who retained their beards to adopt a particular dress, and to pay fifty roubles a year; those who would not shave, and could not pay, were condemned to hard labour to work off the fine. A copper token or coin was struck purposely, called the "Beard coin," which was given as a receipt to those who had paid the tax. Peter strove to introduce the European dress, which was equally resisted. The patience and time which these changes required, were enough to weary out the most rigorous reformer; but Peter relaxed not, and set the example, not only by a remarkable simplicity and frugality in his own person, but in his mode of life, from whence luxuries were banished. He contented himself with the most frugal fare, and was seldom more than a quarter of an hour at dinner; nor did he neglect his reforms amongst the female part of society, whom he strove to draw from their retreats; he would sometimes give *fêtes* at his palace, sometimes at the nobles of the Court, where the females were invited, and obliged to appear in European costume, French or English.

Peter abolished that barbarous contract of marriage, borrowed from the East, by which children were bargained away by their parents. He ordered that no marriage should take place between the parties without their consent. The ignorant bigotry of the clergy was a great hindrance to the Tzar's reforms. He caused the Bible to be translated into the Sclavonian language, and circulated amongst the people. For this they called him

"Anti-Christ;" and it was deemed by them a great crime. One thing seems particularly to have struck his attention on his European travels; this was the emulation with which sovereigns inspired their subjects, by distributing amongst them small marks of honour, which, though insignificant in themselves, seemed to be much coveted by them. He then established "the order of St. Andrew," and one of its first members was Galitzin, who accompanied him on the embassy to Holland. The Tzar abolished the name of Boyars, and conferred the European titles of Count, Baron, &c. One important reform which he made, brought his country within the orbit of Europe, as it were. He changed the style in Russia, where by an ancient usage the year began in September; but Peter decreed that the first day of the year should be in January, according to the Julian calendar, as it now stands in Russia, since they have not yet conformed to the Georgian style in use otherwise throughout Europe. The first New-year's day after the change ordered, was ushered in with much solemnity. It was announced from all the pulpits and public places in the empire. The people could not but acknowledge advantages so palpable as the Tzar's reforms; every one looked on with surprise, and for a while they were confounded, but they were more particularly in admiration of his power, as they said "the Tzar had by ukase altered the course of the sun." Still the great reformer had much to contend with, particularly in the opposition of the priests. He despised their ignorance and defied their power. He openly assailed and taxed them like the rest of his subjects, but they continued to be implacable to the Tzar, and to denounce him as Anti-Christ.

The death of Lefort at this time, only forty-six years

of age, caused great grief to the Tzar, who had set off for Varonej to inspect the naval works going on at that place; he hastened back to Moscow, overwhelmed with the event, since he had lost his most faithful friend and counsellor. There can be no doubt that Peter's mighty mind was much moulded by this extraordinary genius, who, although very young when he came into Russia, had done more through his Sovereign towards its civilization than any other individual. He inspired his royal pupil with a military genius, and fostered his predilection for a fleet. He led him into Europe, to acquaint him with those arts and sciences, some knowledge of which Peter had rapidly acquired. Lefort's active and penetrating mind rendered him equal to any departments of the State. He could command an army, or preside at the council board, wielding the destinies of a vast empire; or he could represent the Sovereign of that empire in foreign courts. It is not too much to say, that indirectly he was the great regenerator of Russia, and faithful to his Prince.

Peter derived his first glories from Lefort; who, rigid in his integrity, left his family almost in poverty. He was a man of singular merit, and beloved by all who knew him, having saved the lives of a great number of the Boyars and others whom the Tzar had condemned to death, who, being thus made sensible of his barbarity, would then take him in his arms and kiss him, and sometimes, likewise, even the trembling victim, whom, the moment before, he was about to sacrifice to his wild passion. Although by the influence of Lefort the Tzar encouraged foreigners to settle in his dominions, and great numbers of them soon arrived, including Germans, Scots, and French; yet this liberal-minded man would,

in all cases where they were qualified, recommend native Russians to the Tzar's service, and would even take the pains to qualify them himself for particular occupations, which removed much of that jealousy against foreigners which the Russians entertained against them. His own merit was fixed on that solid basis of honour and integrity that he feared no rivals. His remains were honoured by a splendid funeral, which the Tzar attended. They were deposited in a Dutch church, and the utmost respect was shown for his memory by all classes of the people. His widow and family were handsomely provided for; and, on this occasion Peter showed that he had a heart as well as a head, and never could Sovereign show more gratitude to a deceased benefactor, since he was not only personally so, but to the whole nation.

Peter soon returned to Varonej to superintend the works going on in the dockyards at that place, which were principally conducted by foreigners, consisting of Dutch, German, Italian, and English artificers. The Tzar mixed amongst them, dressed, like the workmen, in round hat, jacket, and trousers, and would trundle a barrow or handle a spade as the occasion required. His surgical knowledge which he had acquired was very useful to him, since, when any accident happened to the workmen, he was ready to afford them relief by bleeding, at which he was very expert.

Of the Tzar's proficiency in shipbuilding, we have an interesting account from one of the English artificers, John Deane, in a letter addressed by him to the Marquis of Carmarthen, dated Moscow, 16th March, 1698, of which the following are extracts:—"I have deferred writing till I could give your lordship a true account

from my own knowledge of the Tzar (our master's) navy, which, being now a new thing in the world as yet, I believe, is variously talked of in England. First, at Varonej there are already in the water and rigged thirty-six, and to be launched in the spring twenty more stout ships from thirty to sixty guns, and eighteen very large gallies (built after the Venetian manner by the Italian masters) are already completed, and one hundred smaller gallies or brigantines are equipped for sea; seven bomb-ships are launched and rigged, and four or five ships are building against the spring, when they are all to go down to Asoph. The ships are chiefly built by the Dutch and Danes."

Having showed the wonderful rapidity with which the Tzar was creating his navy, the writer next proceeds to show Peter's personal labours in it: "His Majesty carried me down to Varonej with him, which is about four hundred miles south-east from Moscow; there the Tzar immediately set up a ship of sixty guns, where he is both foreman and master-builder; and, not to flatter him, I'll assure your lordship it will be the best ship among them, and it is all from his own draught; how he framed her together, and how he made the mould, and in so short a time as he did, is really wonderful; but he is able, at this day, to put his own notions into practice, and laugh at the Dutch and Italian builders for their ignorance; there are several pieces of workmanship, as in the keel, the stern, and post, which are purely his own invention, and sound good work, and would be approved of by all the shipwrights in England if they saw it. Captain Perry, who was sent to make a communication between the rivers Volga and Don, near Astracan, is returned from surveying the same; he makes it to appear feasible

enough to be done. Accordingly, his Majesty has ordered forty thousand men to be raised, and materials provided for doing the same, which he has promised to furnish in five years, though I believe it may be done in less. When that is performed, the Tzar may carry his ships from the Black Sea into the Caspian Sea, and extend his conquest that way. My Lord, what I have writ, I wish it may be any satisfaction to your Lordship, and I have my end, who am, &c.—JOHN DEANE." This is a genuine report of how the Tzar had profited by his travels in foreign countries, not only of his knowledge of the mechanical arts, but of his prompt application of that knowledge for the benefit of his country; preferring to undergo the drudgery of a workman to the pomp and luxury of a throne, which was at his command; being content with their mean clothing and frugal diet, which he preferred to the purple robe and the gorgeous feastings, of which he had so many examples in his predecessors; and this of a young man in the prime and vigour of life, of the most lofty ambition, thirsting for, and capable of, these conquests, which made him the greatest hero of the age, in Russia or any other country.

The foreign policy of the Tzar now began to engage his attention. Charles XII., not then eighteen years of age, had succeeded to the throne of Sweden; his father, Charles XI., expired in 1697, leaving his son, then only fifteen years of age, in possession of Swedon and Finland, Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Vyburgh, and the best part of Pomerania. His majority was fixed for eighteen years; but he soon succeeded to the administration of affairs. Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, was now established on the throne of Poland, for which he was principally indebted to the Tzar's assistance, and, in return,

he had pledged himself to assist the Tzar in his projected conquest on the Baltic coast, at the interview already alluded to. Sweden possessed the Gulf of Finland and the two banks of the Neva, up to the Lake Ladoga. It was indispensable to the Tzar's plans that he should have a port in the Baltic, which could only be obtained from Sweden. Peter had been at Riga, which formerly belonged to Russia. We have alluded to the insult which he received there from the governor; there were at this time three powers hostile to Sweden, Russia, Poland, and Demark, all seeking to regain provinces from that country. Peter had, therefore, no difficulty in forming them into an alliance, and, on the pretext of the affront which he had received from Count Dalberg at Riga, he declared war against Sweden.

At this time, the Tzar had concluded a treaty of twenty-five years with the Turks, which enabled him to give his entire attention to the war against Sweden. This power became alarmed at the league of three sovereigns against her, and at that time had no confidence in their young king, whose character was not then known. His biographer (Voltaire) says of him, that, when it was proposed to him by the council to avert the storm by negotiation, he answered them in a resolute tone, "I am resolved never to enter upon an unjust war, nor to avoid a just one but by the destruction of my enemies. I will attack the first who shall declare against me; and, when I have conquered him, I may hope to strike terror into the rest."

The young prince, by the energy of his character and the promptitude of his movements, compelled Denmark within six weeks to sign a peace, to restore Holstein to its lawful sovereign, and to pay all the expenses of the

war. The King of Poland laid siege to Riga, but all his efforts were fruitless against the old Count Dalberg, and, despairing of success, he raised the siege. Thus, one of the confederates being silenced, and the efforts of the other rendered nugatory, the hostilities were now confined to the two youthful sovereigns of the north—Sweden and Russia—both inexperienced in the game of war; but the former had a well-disciplined army, whilst the Russians were yet in the crudest state of military discipline, and the warfare against the Swedes was of a far different nature from that against the Turks.

Peter at once marched a large army and laid siege to Narva, a place of considerable strength, near the river Narowa; the operations of the siege were entrusted to Prince Dolgorouky. Peter having absented himself at the time, to confer with the King of Poland, his absence was fatal to its success: the besiegers were vigorously attacked by the Swedes during a snow-storm, with but a very small force as compared to the Russians, who were thrown into the utmost confusion, from the absence of the master-mind of their sovereign. The Russian officers, who were always prejudiced against foreigners, rose against the Germans, and massacred many of them. Charles lost no time in passing over into Livonia, although he had only 9,000 men, whereas the Russian force is estimated at 60,000, consisting principally of raw recruits drawn from the wilds, knowing nothing of the use of fire-arms, armed with clubs and pikes, undisciplined, and quite unequal to military warfare. General Gordon, who does not estimate the number so high, and who was in the battle, says—"Being all new-raised troops, except the regiment of guards (which was of a piece with the rest, in never having been engaged before

with disciplined troops, and few good officers as yet amongst them), it was no miracle to see an army of inexperienced raw troops, consisting of about 34,000 men, intrenched, beat by about a body of 9,000 veterans, as good troops, and as well commanded, as any in Europe, with so resolute a prince at their head." The fright of the Russians at being thus attacked in their intrenchments was so excessive, that, in their haste to escape, they impeded each other; some of the fugitives threw themselves into the river, and were drowned; the German officers, being more afraid of the Russians than the Swedes, surrendered at once to Count Steinbok.

The battle of Narva, which was fought on the 30th November, 1700, is said to have cost the Russians 6,000 men put *hors de combat*, about 20,000 surrendered at discretion, besides the loss of 150 pieces of cannon, with standards and baggage innumerable; whilst the Swedes lost only 1,200. The victorious Charles scattered the undisciplined hordes of the Russians, and, despising such enemies, took prisoners only a few of the general officers, to grace his triumph at Stockholm, consisting of one field-marshal, six generals, eight colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, six majors, fourteen captains, besides subalterns. All Europe was astonished at the young King of Sweden having vanquished the two sovereigns of Denmark and Poland, and now annihilated the army of the Tzar. They regarded him as the hero of the age, and all this before he had attained his twentieth year. From the fruits of this victory, Narva was relieved, and the whole country, even to Plescow, open to the Swedish conqueror, who, at eighteen years of age, led an army against three kings in confederacy against him, and not only proved so successful, but gave wonderful proofs of

his courage and conduct. Charles immediately occupied himself in concentrating his strength against Augustus, whom he said he would drive from the throne of Poland. Had he followed up his successes against the Russians, it is very probable that he might have decided the fate of the empire at Moscow. Peter's ally, therefore, so far from assisting him, he was obliged to assist; which he did with a contingent force of twenty thousand men, and a subsidy of a hundred thousand crowns.

The Tzar was by no means disheartened at the losses which he had sustained—not so his subjects. They attributed the successes of the Swedes to witchcraft and sorcery. A priest composed a prayer to St. Nicholas on the subject of this defeat, which shows the ignorance and superstition of the times, the following being a copy of it, from Voltaire's Charles XII.:—"O thou, who art as our perpetual comforter in all our adversities, great St. Nicholas, infinitely powerful, by what sin have we offended thee, in our sacrifices, genuflexions, reverences, and thanksgivings, that thou hast thus forsaken us? We have implored thy assistance against these terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, insuperable destroyers, when like lions and bears, and other savage beasts, which have lost their young, they have attacked us, terrified, wounded, slain by thousands, us who are thy people. But as it is impossible this could have happened without witchcraft and enchantment, seeing the great care we had taken to fortify ourselves, in an inaccessible manner, for the defence and security of thy name, we beseech thee, O, great Nicholas! to be our champion and standard-bearer; to be with us, as well in peace as in war, in all our necessities, in the time of our death; to protect us against the terrible and tyrannical crowd of sorcerers,

and drive them from our frontiers with the reward they deserve."

But the Tzar gave into none of these fears of his subjects; he consoled himself with the hope, that the Swedes would at length teach the Russians to become their conquerors. He immediately ordered new levies, which were disciplined with much care, and, to replace his guns, he ordered the bells of the churches of Moscow to be founded into cannon, and, with great vigour, he took measures for another campaign. One hundred large guns were cast from the church bells; a hundred and forty-three of smaller sorts, with bombs, mortars, and all sorts of missiles; he negotiated, at the same time, with the King of Denmark, to supply him with three regiments each, of foot and horse soldiers, and which, though engaged for, yet the king dared not supply. The Tzar was indefatigable in his exertions to resume hostilities, on a grand scale, in the spring of the year, 1701, and at the same time he was equally so in extending his reforms for benefiting Russia. In the midst of war, he cultivated all the arts of peace; he introduced large flocks of sheep from Saxony, with shepherds to attend them; he established paper-manufactories, built hospitals, and invited artisans into his dominions of all descriptions, and in every way gave an impetus to industry; so diffusive was his genius, as seemingly to embrace the universal welfare of his subjects, and so rapid were his movements, that he seemed to them to be almost ubiquitous. When they thought him to be at Moscow drilling the troops, perhaps he was at Varonej hastening on the works of the fleet, or at Plescow, or at Novogorod, superintending the building of fortresses; his great mind, far from daunted by misfortune, rose

superior to every obstacle, and seemed to derive strength from the difficulties with which he had to contend.

Peter having disembarrassed himself of his ally, the King of Poland, undertook the war alone, and his measures were taken with decision and promptitude. He diffused a spirit of enthusiasm amongst the soldiers, which aroused them into action; large bodies of troops were put in motion, and they marched once more to the conflict with the Swedes. Of the Tzar's proceedings prior to this, Voltaire remarks:—"Princes who have employed their peaceful days in public foundations are mentioned in history with honour; but that Peter, just after the unfortunate battle of Narva, should undertake the junction of the Baltic, Caspian, and Euxine Seas, is what crowns him with more real glory than he could have derived from the most signal victory."

There had always existed in Russia a prejudice against the use of tobacco, which had been fostered by the priests. They deemed it an unclean thing, and an abomination before the Lord. The Tzar was determined to break down this prejudice, seeing the general use of this weed in Europe. Some merchants of London proposed, through the intervention of the Marquis of Carmarthen, a treaty with the Tzar to be allowed the free importation of tobacco into his country, to which he consented on their paying down the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, and that none should be imported into his dominions without the consent of the Marquis of Carmarthen, who was to receive five shillings for every hogshead so licensed. By degrees, the use of tobacco became so general, that the Russians may be deemed the greatest smokers of any people, the Turks scarcely excepted.

Peter, in order to ingratiate himself with his subjects,

became more familiar amongst them, and would make frequent visits to the respectable classes, which, although flattering to their vanity, was too costly to be always agreeable, since he was sometimes accompanied by a train of fifty or sixty persons; so much had the Russians copied the customs of the Asiatics, where the grandees move about with such swarms of servants, that they will often press the people in the streets to swell the train. The Tzar would likewise visit the foreign ministers and ambassadors, but he seems to have had more enjoyment in mixing familiarly with the lower classes; he would frequently enter their dwellings, and never refused even to become sponsor for their children; he would himself hold them at the font, on which occasion he would give a kiss to the mother, and put a noble or a ducat under the pillow. It may be imagined that his Majesty had a great many invitations in this way—a condescension which showed the kindness of his disposition—which was not cruel by nature, but rendered so occasionally only by circumstances; his familiarity with some of his subjects had rather an amusing turn, particularly with his friend, Menzikoff, of whom he would occasionally borrow his wig; this he once did in a place of worship, which he was accustomed to do of any of his attendants when his head felt cold, when superintending the workmen, which was his favourite employ.,

He was always in good-humour while tracing the progress of those works which his genius was creating; nothing of the tyrant was then conspicuous in him, much less of the sanguinary sovereign; but, by an easy familiarity with the people, he won not only their confidence but their attachment, and never was master more beloved by those employed by him. His views for aggrandizing

the empire were on a grand scale. He sought to convert a barbarous people into a great and civilized nation; he attempted to open commerce with India, by the Caspian Sea to Bokhara; he sent Behrens to discover a north-east passage, with instructions written by himself: he sent a mission to China, by which to traverse the wild regions of Siberia. Nothing seemed to escape the grasp of his great mind; and, in the mean while, he was preparing for war with his formidable antagonist, and contemplating those conquests which were so necessary to his ambition—that of having a free and uninterrupted communication with the great ocean.

Peter was now in the greatest activity, moving about, sometimes at Plescow, sometimes at Archangel (a report having been spread that the Swedes meant to destroy the small establishment which was kept up at that port); then he would appear at Moscow, to superintend the disciplining the troops. His activity of mind and body was so extraordinary, that he was capable of directing personally almost the whole affairs of his vast empire: there were no councils convened, no ministers to consult—he was himself the grand pivot on which every thing turned; he could discipline and command an army, he could build ships and steer them.

In the month of May, 1701, Peter was at Plescow, from whence he sent troops on all sides to attack the Swedes. General Sherematoff had the command, and a fleet of galleys was sent on the lakes Peipus and Ladoga, where some naval fights took place with the Swedes, much to the advantage of the Russians, who took a Swedish frigate. The war had been now opened both by sea and land, in which never were two combatants more warmly engaged than the two young sovereigns of the north. A

large army was put in motion, and the Tzar marched with them into Ingria, animating the troops by his presence; and in some accidental skirmishes with the Swedes, in which he was successful, it formed a good school for training his soldiers in the art of war, and ultimately to beat their enemies. Sheremetoff, his general, met with some partial successes against them, and, on one occasion, he took fifteen guns and sixteen standards, although he was pursued by the dragoons of the enemy. For this victory, the Tzar created him a field-marshal, and exclaimed, "Thank God, we have at length conquered the Swedes, when we are two to one; but, perhaps, the time is not far distant when we shall beat them with equal numbers!"

The siege of Marienburgh, a small town on a lake, was undertaken. The place had already surrendered to Field-Marshal Sheremetoff; but a desperado in the town set fire to the powder-magazine, which blew up a great number of the people, as well as the Russian troops. The garrison and all the inhabitants were made prisoners. Amongst the latter was a young Livonian female peasant, named Martha Skavronski, who had been left in so destitute a situation, that the parish clerk, out of compassion, took her to his house, where she learned to read. Dr. Gluck, minister of Marienburgh, seeing her there, and being informed that she was a poor orphan, took her into his house out of charity, wishing to relieve the poor clerk from the burthen, notwithstanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her opportunities of improvement were much increased, and her deportment was such, that she was equally esteemed by the doctor with his wife and children. Her steady, diligent, and careful attention, had ingratiated her so much with the

family, that they made no distinction between her and themselves. In this happy situation, Martha grew up to womanhood, when a Livonian sergeant in the Swedish service fell violently in love with her; and she likewise liking him, they agreed to marry, provided it could be done with the doctor's consent; but the regiment was immediately ordered off for service, which prevented the marriage taking place. Among the prisoners was Martha, who appeared before the General bathed in tears at the supposed loss of her lover. She attracted his attention; and, having asked her several questions, she answered them with so much good sense above her rank, that the General said he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her reception into his house, where she had charge of the servants, and conducted it so well that she was universally beloved by them.

Prince Menzikoff, who was the General's patron, seeing her one day at his house, and struck with her air and manner, said he wanted such a person to conduct his establishment, which the General could not refuse; and Martha was transferred to the Prince's house, where she lived until the year 1704, when, at the age of seventeen, she so enslaved the Tzar, who was then on a visit to Prince Menzikoff, with her talents and her beauty, that she was transferred from the Prince to the Sovereign. This little episode is due at this moment to relate the fortunes of this extraordinary woman, who, from a Livonian peasant, subsequently became Tzarina of the Russian Empire, and may be said to have previously swayed much of its destinies, since her influence behind the throne was sometimes greater than the throne itself.

This campaign of the Tzar was principally directed to the right bank of the Neva, the complete occupation

of which was essential to the objects of his improvement of Russia. On an island of the lake stood the strong fortified town of Rotteburg, and the siege of it was undertaken by Field-Marshal Sherematoff; it was carried by assault. This was a most important position for the Tzar to establish himself in, if possible, since it gave him a communication with the Baltic. A prodigious quantity of stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. "The same day," says the Tzar in his journal, "the Marshal and his generals went into the town after having returned thanks to God, and having fired three volleys of cannon and musketry; they changed the name of the fortress to that of 'Schlusselbourg,' because," he adds, "it is by this key that the gates of the enemy's country are opened to us, and this name, by the grace of God, is effectually secured to us." Honours and rewards were showered upon all engaged in the siege; Menzikoff was appointed governor; gold medals were distributed to some of the officers; even the soldiers were rewarded; the Tzar himself being the only one not partaking in these honours, although he actually mounted one of the breaches.

On the 7th of December the army made their triumphal entry into Moscow, amidst the ringing of bells and the discharge of artillery: the prisoners, with twenty waggon-loads of ammunition and stores, their colours and their cannon, passed under triumphal arches; and his Majesty, on entering the city, was addressed by the priests and chief authorities with congratulations on their great successes. The Tzar, although averse to any thing like such exhibitions, yet thought them necessary to give confidence to his subjects, and to inspire them with loyalty and patriotism.

After this successful campaign, the Tzar employed himself in prosecuting those reforms, and founding new establishments, which were so necessary for the improvement of his empire. Amongst others, was one for printing in the Russ and Latin characters; and some works, both moral and on the arts, were translated into the Russian language. He founded a vast hospital, similar to what he had seen at Amsterdam, for paupers; but where they were obliged to work, nor were allowed to remain idle. To many infant establishments at Moscow, he gave an impetus by personal supervision and encouragement; and from thence he went to Varonej, where some ships were being constructed, of eighty guns: his active attention was directed to both civil and military affairs at the same time, into which he inspired much of that energy which his mighty genius was capable of imparting. The Tzar's arms had been again successful against the Swedes. He had established at Olmetz a dockyard and a manufactory for small arms; it was, therefore, to him a place of considerable importance, and he hastened to it to commence operations on the eastern shore of the Ladoga, near which lake, and not far from the Neva, was an important fortress held by the Swedes, to which the Russians laid siege both by land and water, and it surrendered to Sherematoff. At the same time, the Tzar had taken in person two Swedish vessels on the lake, on which occasion he received the Order of St. Andrew, of which, in his journal, he observes, "On the 30th May we returned thanks to God for this naval victory, being the first; and after this, those who held commands in this service, namely, the Captain of Bombardiers and the Lieutenant Menzikoff received the Order of St. Andrew, conferred

on them by the Admiral Count de Golowin, the most ancient Knight of the Order."

The Tzar then proceeded to a Swedish fortress called Kantzi, which was besieged and reduced, and, having made himself master of it, a council of war was held, to consider whether the fortifications should be strengthened, or that another position should be chosen nearer to the sea for establishing a fort. The latter plan was adopted, and they selected a spot on an island near the mouth of the Neva, called Pleasure Island; it was then covered with brushwood, inhabited by a few fishermen only, and a most pestilental spot; this was chosen on which to build a new fortress, of which the remains of the fortress of Kantzi formed the foundations. Here the Neva divided itself into four or five branches, all of which were covered with brushwood. This fortress was named St. Petersburgh, and from thence sprang the capital of Europe.

On the 27th May, 1703, the foundations of the new city were laid by the Tzar himself, and he named it in honour of St. Peter and of its founder. The fortress was situated about the centre of the intended city, to which was given the name of "Vassili Ostrof," or "Vassili upon the Island." It stands on a bog, as does the whole city, the principal part being on the left bank of the river. It may be here observed that this is the fifth capital which Russia has had. In 862, the capital of Rurik was Novogorod; in 882, the capital of Oleg was Kief; in 1167, the capital of Andrew was Volodomir; in 1328, the capital of Ivan was Moscow; and in 1703, the new capital of St. Petersburgh was founded by the Tzar, Peter I. Of these capitals Kief was then the most important, of which we are told of the great

wall of brick that surrounded it, with gilded gates like those of Byzantium—of its four hundred churches—its luxury—and the splendid dresses worn by the inhabitants—of their hot baths—their sumptuous feasts, at which were to be found the wines of Greece—of their silver plate, and even the productions of the Indies. But, when the civil wars began in Russia, we find that Kief was taken by Vladimir in 980—burned by Yaraslof in 1015—plundered by the Poles in 1018—captured and re-captured by them in 1069 and 1077—and lastly, after having passed violently from hand to hand for more than a century, it was completely sacked in 1169, and nearly destroyed in 1201.

St. Petersburgh may be deemed the most daring effort of Peter's genius. Here he concentrated all his mighty powers, in contempt of the opinion of others, and seemingly in contempt of Nature herself. The Boyars urged their objections to the barren and swampy soil, at the extremity of the gulf of Finland. Opposite are three islands, formed by the Neva, which were formerly occupied by a few fishermen's huts. These islands are now crowded with public buildings and large establishments. To effect this great work, forests were broken through, morasses dried up, and banks raised before the new city could be built; and it is computed that not less than 10,000 men perished in the morasses during these operations, where they could neither find food to eat, nor shelter to cover them. They were pressed to the work from all parts of the Empire, even from Astracan and Kasan. More than 40,000 men were employed, consisting of Cossacs, Kalmucs, and Russian peasants. Their number was successively

augmented by the prisoners of war, whom Peter turned to good account, not following the example of his rival Charles, who put many of his prisoners to death.

More than forty thousand men were here employed, and in the short space of five months the fortress was completed, the plan of which the Tzar drew with his own hand, and under every difficulty of the want of tools. For wheel-barrows they substituted bags, or their shirts, in which to carry the earth; thus out of the midst of an almost inaccessible marsh sprang this fortress, surrounded with a wall of earth, having doors, and six bastions, defended by 300 pieces of cannon.

In order to accelerate the works, the Tzar took a part in them personally, aided by the first nobles of the court. Shortly after, a great number of houses of wood were built, with a large church in the centre, and all the plans were said to be drawn up by the Tzar himself; he assisted to build the first house at St. Petersburgh, which consisted of a small hut, raised with planks and joists, to shelter the Tzar from the weather whilst he superintended the works; and he lived for some time in this cottage, which consisted of a dining-room, a bed-room, and a sitting-room. The little dwelling is most religiously preserved by his descendants.

In addition to their other objections to the spot which Peter had selected as the site of his new capital, the Boyars dwelt upon the inhospitable and inclement climate, where winter reigned for eight months of the year—where rye was an article of garden-culture, and where vegetation could not be forced—where the Neva was blocked up with ice for four whole months, and the river was of such unequal depths, that ships

launched at St. Petersburgh could not descend it without the aid of machines to float them over the shoals (nor could merchant vessels ascend it without being towed)—and lastly, the port, though capable of containing three hundred vessels, yet the egress from it was impeded by sand-banks and other dangers; furthermore, that a storm of some hours' duration from the west, by driving back the waters of the Neva, would be sufficient to swallow up the city, built upon piles in a bottomless marsh.

But Peter set at nought all these various and reasonable objections; he was not a man to be deterred from his purpose by difficulties; it was necessary for him to open a road to the activity and industry of his subjects with Europe. Nor would he listen to their complaints with respect to the remoteness of the situation which he had chosen for his new capital, which could not fail to occasion a ruinous tardiness to all administrative and judicial communications. In reply to all objections, the Tzar only hastened on the works the more strenuously, and the new city began to assume some importance. He ordered the priests from Moscow to perform the duties of their office at the new church, and directed merchants and tradespeople to repair to St. Petersburgh and exercise their several trades and professions. A large hotel was built, for the accommodation of the foreign ministers; and shops and warehouses, all of wood, were soon opened, which gave the rising city the appearance of a large town. The lakes and rivers were covered with vessels of every kind, which the Tzar demanded from all classes of his rich subjects, resolved that his people should be made sailors and pilots; for which purpose, and to render maritime an inland people, he would never throw a bridge over the Neva, so that

the new inhabitants of its banks should cross it in sailing-boats, the art of guiding which he knew they would soon learn when their lives were at stake.

The opposition to building the new city was so great, that none but the most despotic measures could have enabled him to carry it into effect. The people regarded it with terror, from the great mortality which it had already occasioned; they broke out in loud complaints of the Tzar's long absence from Moscow, and with the greatest difficulty did he induce the inhabitants to emigrate from thence to the bleak and dismal islands of the Neva. He employed several Dutch architects and masons, and adopted Amsterdam as his model for the new city; to one of the islands he gave the name of New Holland, as an acknowledgment of the obligations which he owed to that country. The extraordinary rapidity with which he hastened on the buildings met with complete success; and Prince Menzikoff was appointed the governor of St. Petersburgh.

In five months from its foundation, a Dutch vessel, laden with merchandise, entered the river. As soon as the Tzar heard of her arrival at Cronstadt, he went to meet the vessel in his own boat, dressed like a common sailor, and went on board to salute the captain, to congratulate him on his arrival; he told him that he had been sent on the part of the governor to pilot the vessel from Cronstadt to St. Petersburgh, and ordered him to follow his boat. On his arrival, he conducted him into the presence of the governor, Prince Menzikoff; the captain and the sailors were invited by him to the Tzar's table, and the vessel was confided to a military guard. It was at the Sovereign's table only that the captain recognised the Tzar, Peter, formerly in the sailor's dress,

who exempted the ship from all duties, and made a present to the skipper of five hundred ducats, and gave three hundred florins to each of the sailors, promising to receive another vessel in the same manner, from whatever country she might arrive. The next was an English vessel, which arrived in the following summer, and she was similarly received; the Tzar went to meet her in the sailor's dress, as before. By some mismanagement of the captain, the vessel grounded on the way, and the Tzar with great difficulty got her off at the end of an hour. For his zeal and assiduity, the captain offered him a present of some thick cloth to make a coat, which was refused by Peter, who said that it would be a shame and a sin to take any thing from a brother sailor merely for doing his duty. The captain pressing it upon him, he promised to receive his offer the next day, when he should come and dine with him and the sailors. To his great astonishment, the captain had then to dine with the Tzar of Russia, who presented him with magnificent gifts; and, on his return to England, the captain so extolled Peter's bounty, that many of his countrymen imitated his example, and vessels from other countries soon arrived in the new port. This gave confidence to his subjects, that European enterprise would flow rapidly into Russia; all opposition was withdrawn by them, and they were almost awestruck at the capacity of their sovereign, and the wonderful energy of his mind.

Charles XII. affected to look upon these great works of the Tzar with contempt. He said that he would send a fleet against them and burn his wooden houses; but he left it too late to accomplish his threats. A fleet, consisting of twenty-two vessels of war, with six frigates of war and two fire-ships, were sent to land troops and

destroy the fortress and growing works of St. Petersburgh; but they were warmly received by the Russian infantry, who lay in ambush defended by fifteen pieces of cannon. More than five hundred Swedes were killed, and a great number of them drowned; the remainder were glad to escape to their vessels.

Peter having now acquired this valuable possession, and secured himself at St. Petersburgh against the Swedes, had time to attend to foreign affairs. The military force of Russia had become a formidable body—well disciplined and well equipped; the siege of Dort was undertaken, and carried; Narva was attacked by the Tzar in person, and likewise carried, when he became master of all Ingria, the government of which he gave to Menzikoff, and for whose zeal in his service Peter created him a Prince of the Empire and Major-general in the army, thus showing to his subjects that merit was the only passport to the Sovereign's favour.

On this occasion, Voltaire says, "The pride and prejudice of other countries might find fault with a sovereign for raising a pastrycook's boy to the post of Governor and General, and to princely dignity; but Peter had accustomed his subjects not to be surprised at seeing him prefer men of ability to persons who had nothing to recommend them but their high birth." But Menzikoff possessed considerable talent, besides military skill—he had ingratiated himself with his royal master by his lively and facetious humour—he had served him in the cabinet as well as in the field—and had gained over a great many nobles to Peter's innovations, so that it may be said the honours were most worthily bestowed.

The affairs of Poland now gave the Tzar much trou-

ble and perplexity. Augustus having entirely lost the affections of his subjects, the Cardinal Primate had declared at Warsaw that he was incapable of reigning, and the throne was declared vacant. Peter wrote him an indignant letter, addressed likewise "To the most Illustrious, Generous, and Magnificent Lord;" but it produced no effect, and they proceeded to elect Prince James Sobieski, as recommended by the King of Sweden, when intelligence was brought that the Prince and his brothers had been forcibly carried off when they were hunting, near Breslau, by a party of about thirty horse, sent by Augustus. Charles then recommended Stanislaus Leseinsky, a young nobleman endowed with excellent qualities, when the Diet proclaimed him King of Poland and Duke of Lithouania. The Tzar had but little hope of assisting the deposed King, but he sent him a force of twelve thousand men into Lithouania, which had not then declared against him, and this led to the renewal of hostilities with Sweden, which could no longer be avoided. The French envoy at the Court of Saxony attempted to reconcile their differences, but Charles was inexorable, and said, "He would treat with Peter at Moscow." To which the Tzar replied, "My brother Charles wishes to play the part of Alexander, but he will not find a Darius in me." In the month of January, 1708, the Tzar set out for Poland; he had been wintering at Moscow after an absence of two years from that city, where he was received with much joy. Charles, in the mean time, had commenced his march towards that country, and much skirmishing had taken place between the Russian and Swedish troops at Grodno, where Peter had established himself.

Charles advanced towards the town with only a small force of eight hundred of his guards. The Russians thought that his whole army were following; they hastily abandoned the town, and, by a mistake of one of his officers, the Tzar was nearly taken prisoner. The Russian forces were then concentrated towards Minsk, the Tzar being desirous to draw the Swedes on in that part of the country, where they could get little or no subsistence. The impetuous Charles, flushed with his successes, thought that he should ultimately triumph over the whole Russian Empire; he was thus led into the snare laid for him by Peter. The effective forces of Russia and Sweden (the number of the former being much greater than that of the latter) were now brought into conflict, and the first action of any importance was fought on the 25th June, 1708, on the banks of the Berezina, which lasted for several hours, when the Swedes were repulsed with an enormous loss. At the battle of Lesno, the Swedes were again defeated, and the arms of the Tzar were crowned with the most signal success. "This battle," said Peter in his journal, "was the mother of that of Pultowa." Charles was never daunted, though overwhelmed with misfortunes which threatened his entire destruction, and still regarded himself as the disposer of crowns. Peter, on the contrary, showed great moderation amidst all the successes which followed him, by offering liberal terms to conciliate his enemy, by whom they were indignantly rejected. The Tzar only proposed to retain Ingria, which he had conquered, and to have quiet possession of St. Petersburgh, which he had founded. But the young king would not even listen to his proposals, who now precipitated himself towards his ruin. As was

anticipated, Charles persevered in pushing on towards Moscow, and the Tzar retired before him, taking care to lay waste the country leading to that city, when the king found it so difficult an undertaking that he was obliged to abandon it, and marched his army on the barren wastes of the Ukraine, when another engagement took place between the respective forces, those of the Swedes having been much wasted on the sandy deserts, which could yield them no food, and where their sufferings were intense.

Charles suddenly came upon the Russian army, consisting of 60,000 men, commanded by the Tzar in person. His perilous situation inspired his troops with the valour of despair. They fell on the Russian outposts, and put them to flight; but their army turned close upon the King, and brought him to a general engagement. In this contest, the Swedes lost half their force in the field. The next day, the battle was renewed with increased fury. Peter, by his example, inspired his troops with the greatest enthusiasm: he was continually moving through the lines, directing the fire, and encouraging the men, who were thus led to perform prodigies of valour. The contest lasted until nightfall, when the Swedes fell behind their baggage-waggons, and continued to keep up watch-fires till the dawn of day. At daybreak, when the Russians advanced to renew the attack, they discovered that the Swedes had made good their retreat under cover of the night, leaving their wounded, with 7,000 waggons containing provisions and munitions of war. This was the first *great victory* which the Russians had obtained over the Swedes, whose total loss amounted to 8,000 men, whilst that of the Russians did not exceed 1,200 in killed and wounded. Charles,

by this severe loss, was obliged, in the midst of winter, to traverse a country desolated by war, and where no provisions could be procured for the troops, with but the skeleton of an army of those brave men which he had been accustomed to lead to victory; they suffered all the miseries of cold and famine, exceeding almost what human nature could support. They made their way through forests and over morasses, some of them clothed in the skins of wild beasts; thousands of the soldiers dropped down through cold and hunger. But such was the obstinacy of Charles, that he refused to halt at a small town in the Ukraine to obtain some supplies for his army. Count Piper, the Swedish chancellor, who accompanied the King, entreated him to halt at Renura, but Charles thought it beneath his dignity to shut himself up in a town. He was then urged to repass the Borysthenes, and to retrace his steps into Poland, there to put his troops into winter-quarters, to obtain those refreshments of which they stood so greatly in need, particularly as the Russians were gone into winter-quarters, and were not disposed to molest him, and Peter was then at Taganrog, but the King's obstinacy ruined himself and his army. He continued his march direct upon Moscow, relying upon his valour and the fame of his victories; he conceived that he wielded a destiny which nothing could overcome. The severe cold of the winter prevented all hostile conflicts between the rival armies; but when it broke up, Charles, in the month of May, reached the small town of Pultowa, which was garrisoned by the Russians. This place was of great importance, since it commanded the high-road to Moscow.

The Swedish army amounted to 27,000 men, and

they besieged the town. Peter hastened to its defence with an army of from 50,000 to 60,000 men to reinforce the garrison. His troops were well disciplined, and possessed great advantages over the enemy. Several skirmishes took place, in one of which Charles received a wound in his foot, and he was obliged to submit to an operation, which confined him for some days, but this accident did not impair his spirit. He gave orders to commence a vigorous attack on the town, and the redoubts were carried sword in hand. At length, on the 27th June, 1709, the day arrived which was to decide the fate of the two crowns of Russia and of Sweden. The right Russian wing was commanded by General Bawer, and the left by Prince Menzikoff, the centre by Field-marshal Sheremataff, the Tzar acting as Major-general. This great battle commenced at nine o'clock. Charles was carried in his litter, which was soon shattered to pieces under him by a cannon ball, which killed one of the horses, and another was immediately provided. During this time, the King was raised up on the pikes of his men to superintend their operations. The Russian force was very much greater than that of the enemy, and they were fresh and vigorous, whilst the Swedes were exhausted with fatigue. The two monarchs commanded in person. Charles, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, seemed to be everywhere animating his troops. A cannon ball killed both horses of the second litter, and scarcely was another pair attached to it than another ball struck the litter and overturned the King. He then mounted on horseback, and continued for six hours calmly giving his orders, until he was carried to his tent fainting from the loss of blood.

The Tzar was seen in all directions animating his

troops. His clothes, hat, and saddle, were penetrated with shots. Menzikoff had three horses killed under him. For two hours, the battle raged with the greatest fury, and the artillery on both sides made frightful havoc. At length, the Swedes being completely defeated, their confusion became general. Charles was obliged to fly before the force which he had heretofore despised. Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war, amongst whom was Count Piper, the King's minister, with his two secretaries of state, Field-marshal Reneheld, six generals, and seventy officers of distinction. In the whole, 18,746 prisoners fell into the hands of the conquerors. Nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four of the enemy remained on the field, whilst the loss of the Russians was very trifling. Charles made his escape with the remains of his army, with but little artillery, ammunition, or provisions, commanded by Marshal Lewenhampt, and fled to a place called the Peresvolochna, in the country of the Zaporavians. Here, with a few hundred of his followers, he swam the Borysthenes, and, proceeding through a desolate country, was likely to have perished with hunger until he arrived on the Turkish territory at Otchakow, where the Pasha refused him admittance. He was, therefore, obliged to continue his march to Bender on the Dniester, where he was well received. The daring spirit of Charles, who had carried fire and sword into Poland and Denmark, was now crushed without any chance of his again disturbing these or any other monarchies. Such were the vicissitudes of this great hero of the north, who was as haughty under his misfortunes as he had been in the plenitude of his power—before whom monarchs had trembled. He had received,

in some degree, the homage of the whole of Europe when the ministers from their different courts waited upon him in his camp near Leipsic. He then ordered the Emperor Joseph to recall some German officers in the Russian service, which the Emperor dared not disobey. He likewise ordered all Russian subjects having taken shelter in the Emperor's dominions should be immediately turned out. And when speaking of the Russians, he said:—"The Swedes, even with horsewhips, can drive out these barbarous Russians not only from Moscow but from the whole earth." Hence the great battle of Pultowa was not only so important to Russia but to the whole of Europe. The Tzar had now become the conqueror of the greatest conqueror of the age, who, had he succeeded in dictating terms to Peter at Moscow, which he threatened to do, the result might have been to drive Russia back to her barbarism, and to have effectually checked the progress of her great reformer, whose whole future was at stake on the result of the battle of Pultowa, the most glorious that has ever been fought on the soil of Russia, which might have become the prey to new revolutions had the Tzar failed of success. This splendid victory was gained only eight years after the battle of Narva, which shows the astonishing progress which the Russian troops had made in discipline: their courage had been always the same, but it was now so directed, that they had learned to beat their former conquerors, when they had acquired the character of veterans.

Peter wrote from the field of battle to Admiral Apraxin at St. Petersburgh, "Thank God, the foundation stone of St. Petersburgh is now firmly laid." Thus ended the last conflict between these two formidable

rivals, the forethought and firmness of Peter strongly contrasting with the recklessness of Charles. The Tzar showed all the qualities of a great general, with cool courage and quick in his resources during danger, and thus he speaks of the battle in his journal:—"Those miserable Swedes turned their backs, and their whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, was overthrown, with very little loss on our part." Again:—"By the favour of Almighty God, this victory, to which there are few to be compared, was obtained with little trouble and little blood over the proud King of Sweden, by the prudent and gallant conduct of his Majesty in person, and by the valour of his chiefs and soldiers; for in this affair, of so great importance, his Majesty exposed himself for his subjects and his country, without sparing his own person, like a true and great captain." In the evening of this proud day, Peter dined with his generals and field-officers in his tent, and he invited some of the Swedish prisoners of rank, amongst whom was Count Piper, Charles's minister, some general officers, and the King's two secretaries, who had surrendered themselves. In the course of the entertainment, Peter drank a health, "To his masters in the art of war," and when asked by the Swedes for whom the compliment was intended, his Majesty replied, "Yourselves, gentlemen, the brave Swedish generals!" Peter made many anxious inquiries as to what had become of the King, and ordered the strictest search to be made amongst the slain, his litter having been found, it was feared he had been killed. The shattered remains of the Swedish army, amounting only to 14,000 men, retreated, under the command of General Lewenhampt, with all speed; but three days after the battle Prince Menzikoff came up with

them, with only nine hundred men, and summoned the general to surrender, representing to him that all hope of their retreat or safety was cut off. The Swedish general did not hesitate to conclude and sign a treaty on the same day, by which the whole surrendered prisoners of war, with all the artillery, military chests, and their standards were given up to the victors.

Of this the Tzar thus speaks in his journal:—"Thus, by the favour of God, all this famous army of the enemy, which during its stay in Saxony had been the terror of Europe, fell into the hands of his Majesty, for not a man of it escaped; all but a few hundreds, which passed the Dnieper with the King, having surrendered themselves to the victorious arms of Russia."

All Europe felt the effects of this battle, and the Saxons called out loudly for revenge on a prince who had pillaged and plundered their country. The consternation in Sweden was extreme; they supposed their King had been killed; its influence, it is said, extended even to England. Augustus was impatient to re-ascend the Polish throne: through the powerful influence of his ally, Peter, the Poles were now ready to assist him, and Stanislaus declared himself ready to abdicate, should he be required so to do. Such was the new turn of affairs after the battle of Pultowa. The Tzar made his triumphal entry into Moscow on the 20th of December, when the public rejoicings exceeded every thing that had been yet witnessed in that city: seven triumphal arches were ornamented with the most splendid works of art that Russia could produce: the procession was opened by the first regiment of the Guards, followed by the Swedish artillery taken at the battle of Lesno and Pultowa—every gun was drawn by eight horses, and

covered with scarlet cloth; the colours and standards taken from the enemy were carried by the officers that had captured them; then followed the litter of Charles, shattered as it was in the field of battle—this inspired the people with a noble pride, to see the humiliation of their long formidable enemy; next came the Swedish generals, and other prisoners, dressed in their uniforms, according to their rank.

The conquerors followed, mounted on horseback, the Tzar amongst them, in his rank of major-general, and mounted on the horse which had carried him on the battle-field. The *cortége* was closed by several regiments of guards. Peter proposed terms to Charles in his retreat, to which at first he seemed disposed to listen; he even sent a general officer to the Russian camp, from his asylum at Bender; but subsequently he refused the terms proffered by Peter, and treated them as the insolent pretensions of a perfidious enemy. He had been so well received by the Turks, by orders from Constantinople, that he thought he could make himself master of all their forces, and that he could triumph over Russia and all the north. His spirit was still unbroken, and he employed all his interest with the Divan to prevail upon the Sultan to declare war against Russia; to which the Porte seemed somewhat inclined, seeing the rapidly-advancing power of the Tzar on the banks of the Black Sea; their jealousy was aroused at his possessing the town of Asoph, which they had been obliged to surrender to him a few years before.

Poniatowski, the active friend of Charles, used all his influence to stir up the Sultan to hostilities; but the Turks were not so easily moved, more particularly when recollecting the Tzar's former successes against them.

Peter now sent an army into Livonia, under Marshal Sherematáff, to encourage the Poles to aid his ally, Augustus, and to drive Stanislaus from the throne; and went himself to Warsaw. At Thorn, he enjoyed one of his greatest triumphs—that of receiving the thanks of the king to whom he had restored his states. From thence the Tzar proceeded to Prussia, and there he concluded a treaty between the Kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, against Sweden; the object of which was, to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus, he himself setting up pretensions to Ingria, Livonia, and a part of Finland. In this negotiation, he was his own ambassador, seldom having occasion to employ any. From thence he proceeded to Riga, and then to his new capital of St. Petersburgh; for, in the midst of all his warlike operations and treaty negotiations, he never forgot this his favourite undertaking.

The Tzar spent six weeks there, attending principally to the works, for which he drew many plans himself. In April, 1714 (eleven years after the founding of the city), the number of houses amounted to 34,550; and in two years after they were more than 50,000. Peter was indefatigable in his personal labours: he planted trees with his own hands; he assisted the workpeople in the most toilsome part of their works; he sounded the Neva, and laid down a chart of the bed of that river; besides which, he commenced building a country-seat at Peterhoff, about twelve versts from his new capital, where some thousands of workmen were employed under the direction of the most skilful architects. Thus was he employed, conquering Nature as it were, and forcing her rudest wilds into every form of magnificence; here it was intended to rival Versailles itself, but the water-

works and illuminations of Peterhoff could be only deemed an imitation in miniature.

Charles continued indefatigable, through his agent at Constantinople, Poniatowski, to induce the Sublime Porte to declare war against Russia, taking care to impress upon them that the Tzar's next expedition would be against their own territory. Count Tolstoy was then his ambassador at that court, and had well succeeded in establishing friendly relations between the two powers; but the Porte had for a long time taken umbrage at the Russian fleet appearing in the Black Sea; likewise at their building so many ships on the Don, and at the extensive works carrying on in the harbour of Taganrog. Poniatowski continued to awaken the jealousy of the Sultan, by representing that the intention of the Russians was to invade his territories; and added, that they were already committing dreadful ravages on his frontiers.

This was sufficient to arouse the fears of the Sultan. A divan was summoned, and war decided upon, without any further declaration than that of seizing the Russian ambassador, with thirty of his attendants, in the streets of Constantinople, and sending them to the Castle of the Seven Towers. Such an indignity offered to the most powerful Tzar of Russia, was sufficient to arouse all his ire; he had likewise received an insult from the court of Great Britain, by the arrest of his ambassador, Mutarof, in London, for debt, which excited great indignation amongst the foreign ministers then residing there, who carried their complaints to the foot of the throne. Anne ordered an act of parliament to be passed forthwith, to prevent such a circumstance in future; and Lord Whitworth, the British minister then at the

court of the Tzar, made public apologies on the part of the queen, for the insult offered to his ambassador. Peter lost no time in making preparations for the Turkish war: he ordered a division of the army to march from Poland to Moldavia; and from Livonia, Field-marshal Sherematáff was ordered to march with another body to the same quarter; Admiral Apraxin was to take the command of the fleet on the Black Sea; and Prince Menzikoff was left at the head of affairs at St. Petersburgh. At Moscow, the Tzar appointed a regency of senators, who took an oath, in presence of himself, the senate, and the principal authorities, in the Cathedral of the Assumption, to "fulfil their duties with honour, integrity, and activity." Immense levies were made for the army and navy, and the conscripts were sent off to the frontiers of Wallachia.

Before his departure for the Turkish campaign, Peter resolved to make public his marriage, which had taken place privately in 1707, with the little captive of Marienburgh, to whom he had given the name of Catherine. In 1696, Peter had repudiated his first wife, by whom he had two children, and had sent her to a convent. Although the Greek church was very strict in prohibiting such divorces, yet the despotic Tzar was not to be bound by her trammels. Catherine had been living very retired in a small house at Moscow, passing for "Madame Catherine;" and here very often the most important affairs were transacted by the Tzar with his ministers. She had borne him two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, both of whom became Sovereigns of Russia. From the amiableness of the disposition of his wife—who had a temper which could never be ruffled—Catherine acquired such influence over the mind of the Tzar, that the spasmodic

fits to which he was subject, would yield to it, and to no other power. Peter was a man of fiery temper—of most irascible passions—which immediately gave way to her soothing presence. Although possessing so much fascination over him, Catherine was neither quick in imagination nor brilliant in conversation; but she was graceful and animated, with so much good sense, that she was admirably fitted for her sphere—that of the Tzarina to the despotic Peter, her devotedness to whom was boundless.

She filled her station with a propriety which commanded the respect of all around her; at the same time, maintaining her rank of majesty without forgetting her former condition. She had accompanied the Tzar in all his expeditions, even when attended with the greatest danger. She now prepared to go with him in his campaign into Turkey, on which occasion, in 1711, the Tzar ordered his marriage to be solemnly declared, and that his subjects should acknowledge the new Tzarina. He was never so happy as when she was near his person; the soft accents of her voice never failed to compose his mind if ever so ruffled; she soothed his cares and shared his fatigues; she became necessary to his health and comfort, almost to his existence. The public ceremony of the marriage was celebrated with great pomp on the 6th March, 1711. The Tzar was dressed in the uniform of an admiral; and the bridemaids were the Tzarina's two daughters, the one about four, and the other about three years of age. The entertainments at the palace were very splendid, with fireworks, illuminations, &c.

Voltaire speaks of the Tzarina in the following terms: "Catherine saved more backs from the knout, and more heads from the block, than General Lefort had done.

Great, indeed, must have been the merit of the woman who, having risen to the most elevated station from an obscure and almost unknown origin, maintained her lofty position without incurring the hatred, envy, or even jealousy, of those over whom it was her destiny to rule." Of the usages of society at this time we see a little, by the description of an entertainment given by the Tzar's sister at St. Petersburgh—the Princess Natalia, which was in the best style for that day. The Tzar, the Tzarina, and the principal nobility, assisted at it. Immediately on their arrival, a small cup of brandy was presented to the guests by the mistress of the house; and she saluted them all with a kiss. The first course was then served up, consisting of cold meat, hams, sausages, jelly, broth, and divers sorts of dishes, dressed with olive oil, onions, and garlic. The second course consisted of soups, roast meat, and other hot dishes, and then followed the dessert. The healths were drunk at the beginning of the meal in large cups and glasses in the form of bells. Amongst people of high rank no other wine was taken than that of Hungary, which was deemed a mark of distinction. The ladies are described as having copied the French dress of the hooped petticoats, which sat rather awkward upon them; and as having very black teeth, it being the conviction amongst the old Russians, that white teeth more became monkeys than men.

On New-year's day, which was a great festival in Russia, the Tzar repaired to church at four o'clock in the morning, and officiated himself, beginning the tunes, and reading the epistle before the altar; a custom which he observed ever since he abolished the patriarchal dignity. Divine service being ended, the Tzar returned to his residence, when all the cannons of the fortress were

discharged. The generals, the nobles, the clergy, and the grandees of the empire went on this occasion to the palace to compliment the Tzar, the Tzarina, and the Princesses, each of whom received from the Tzar's own hand a cup of brandy, having first been permitted to kiss the hands of the royal circle. Some chosen guests were afterwards entertained with great hospitality, ending in a drinking-bout, by which the greater part were laid prostrate on the ground; the brandy bowl seemed to be the very centre of happiness of the old Russians, whom the Tzar used to call "a herd of brutes, whom he put into the shape of men, but despaired of ever breaking their obstinacy, or rooting up the perverseness of their hearts;" although sagacity and cunning were natural almost to the whole nation, which only required education to raise them to the rank of the most civilized nations.

Of these drinking-bouts, the Tzar gave a memorable one at Peterhoff, where the guests were so plied with tokay that they were scarcely able to stand, although they were afterwards obliged to empty each a bowl, holding a full quart, received from the Tzarina's own hand, which prostrated them on the ground in the garden and elsewhere. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the guests were aroused, and brought to the Tzar in his pleasure-house, where he ordered them each to take a hatchet and to follow him; he led them into a wood of young trees, and fell to work most stoutly, setting the example to his guests, who, not having as yet recovered their senses, followed their Sovereign's example courageously during three hours, when the fumes of the wine had pretty well evaporated. The Tzar thanked them for their labour, and invited them to supper, when a

double dose of the day's carouse sent them all to sleep, from which they were aroused at midnight by a favourite of the Tzar, who, standing at the bedside, plied them with wine and brandy till four in the morning. At eight o'clock, they were invited to breakfast; but, instead of tea and coffee, they were again pestered with large cups of brandy. Snch is the description given of the royal hospitality of Russia in those days by one of the guests present.

The females of the lower orders were in a very degraded state, and it was commonly said that the Russian women judged of the love of their husbands by the number of blows which they received from them; they were so given to drinking, that household affairs were mostly neglected by them. Those of the middle ranks wore patches on their faces, in the figures of trees, horses, &c.: they wore fur under their petticoats, even in summer; those who frequented the court generally assumed foreign fashions, in which they were very awkward, with much native bashfulness.

The Tzar attempted great reforms in the civilization of his subjects, by issuing an order in 1719—that assemblies should be held regularly at St. Petersburgh; it is rather a long document, from which we copy the following:—"The person at whose house the assembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a bell or other sign, to give notice to all persons of either sex. The Assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five, nor continue later than ten at night. The master of the house must find chairs, candles, and drink, and all the necessaries asked for, also provide all sorts of gaming, and what belongs thereunto. No certain hour is fixed for any body coming or going, but it is sufficient if any one

make his appearance in the Assembly. It is left to every one's liberty to sit, walk, or play, just as he likes, nor shall anybody hinder him, nor take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the great eugle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy.) A particular place shall be assigned to the footmen, that there may be sufficient room in the apartments designed for the Assembly."

At these assemblies there was dancing in one room, whilst people were playing at cards, draughts, or chess, in another; and in a third, ladies and gentlemen were diverting themselves with forfeits, cross purposes, and other minor amusements, to create good-humour and laughter. The company were not obliged to drink more wine or brandy than was agreeable to them, unless they transgressed the established laws of the assembly, which would sometimes occur. A room for smoking was set aside, where gentlemen might discourse together. The Tzar established a public theatre at Moscow, in imitation of those which he had seen in Europe; the first theatrical representation in Russia was introduced by the Tzar, Alexis Michailovitch, in 1647. A troop of actors was introduced by the Boyar, Mutreof, from Germany, and they were the first to amuse the Russian Court by their representations; these innovations on social life in Russia, by degrees led to those habits and to that refinement which made such astonishing progress in the succeeding ages, wherein the females were more particularly to have influence; they were the active ministers of the great reformer, and he raised them from a degraded state of vassalage to assume their proper station in society. Peter improved the roads, and established verst posts between the different towns, thus benefiting the people in the interior. The people could not but acknowledge

advantages so palpable as the Tzar's reforms; every one looked on with surprise, and for a while they were confounded: still the great reformer had much to contend with, particularly in the opposition of the priests: he despised their ignorance and defied their power; but they continued to be implacable to the Tzar, and denounced him as Antichrist.

CHAPTER VI.

Preparations for the Turkish Campaign—The Tzar's Manifesto—His Departure for the Army with the Tzarina—Marching to the Banks of the Pruth—Sufferings of the Troops—surrounded by the Turkish Army—The Tzar's critical position—his Letter addressed to the Senate at Moscow—Catherine proposes to him to negotiate with the Turks—A Treaty concluded with the Grand Vizier—Charles XII—his Visit from Bender to the Turkish Camp—Reproaches the Grand Vizier for forming this Treaty—his Expulsion from the Turkish Territory—The Tzar's Return to his own Dominions—Visits Carlsbad and Torgaud—Marriage of the Tzarivitch with a Princess of Wolfenbuttle—Peter's Return to St. Petersburgh—Progress of the New Capital—Hostilities renewed with Sweden—Successes of the Russians—Grand Festivities at St. Petersburgh—the Tzar's Speech to his Subjects—Public Entertainments—Of the Tzar's Kitchen—The Palace Feasts—Boisterous Hospitality—Curious Dishes—the Tzar's Butler—He Institutes the Order of St. Catherine—Dispersion of the Swedish Prisoners—their Domesticating in Russia—The Tzar's activity in increasing his Navy—his intrepidity at Public Fires—the Peculations of his Generals and Favourites—The Tzar's inflexible Justice—Charles XII.—his Hostilities with the European States—The Tzar's Successes against the Swedes—Catherine presents him with another Son—Peter's impetuous joy—Anecdote of the Fortress—Revenues and Military Force of the Russian Empire at this Time—The contingents of Troops—their Provisions—Sources of National Income—Mode of Taxation—Maps of Russia first laid down—Private Life of the Tzar—his Journal and Letters—Breaking up of the Ice of the Neva—Peter's Second Visit to Europe—his Arrival at Dantzic, and at Copenhagen—Takes the Command of the United Danish, English, Dutch, and Russian Fleet—his Arrival at Amsterdam, and Saardam—Enthusiasm of the People—Recognised by old Acquaintances—The former Residence of the Tzar—its present Condition—The Tzar's

Arrival at Paris—retires to a Private Hotel—is Visited by the Regent and the young King—Goes to the Tuileries—Visits the different Institutions of Paris—the Mint—the Academy of Sciences—Refined Courtesies of the French towards the Tzar—his Return to Amsterdam—his Arrival at Berlin—Reception of their Majesties by the King and Queen—their Entertainment at the Palace—The Tzar's Return to Russia—Of the Tzarovitch, Alexis—his Rebellious Conduct to his Father—Character of the young Prince—his Follies and Weaknesses—Correspondence with his Father—Renounces the Succession—Flies to Germany for Protection from the Emperor—the Tzar induces him to Return—Preparations for his Trial at Moscow—Peter Reproaches his Son—Alexis' Reply—the Prince Signs a Document Renouncing the Succession—Is Sent to Prison—his Father seeks Evidence against him—Alexis implicates himself—Dreadful Executions at Moscow—Further Trial of Alexis—his Confessions—The Tzar Appeals to the Judges—Reply of the Clergy—Sentence of Death against Alexis signed by the Judges—the Prince brought into Court—the Sentence Read to him—his Sudden Death—Rumours to the prejudice of the Tzar—Government Report of the Death of the Tzarivitch—Captain Bruce's Report of his Death—Voltaire's opinion of this Tragedy.

GREAT preparations were now made for the Turkish campaign. The army destined for it was intended to consist of 130,000 men—five divisions consisting of 6,000 men each were marched towards Sarokat, commanded by General Sheremataff: 20,000 Cossacs, and 50,000 Kalmucs and Tartars were to join this force at head-quarters. Peter, previously to setting out for the army, issued a very long manifesto against the Turks, in which he says, "War has been publicly declared at Constantinople, contrary to the law of nations;" and, speaking of the Grand Seignior, he said, "Being born an enemy to the name of Christ, he never articles with an intention to observe the sacred laws of peace, but, as a man void of honour, does it only that he may afterwards, with greater security, attack and utterly overwhelm those that rely upon the religious sanction of public treaties." Speaking

of the Turks, he says, "Thus the offspring of thieves and robbers did, in a few years, subdue to their own dominion so many ancient and renowned Christian kingdoms and provinces, together with a great many holy and venerable places, and at last became a most powerful and formidable people."

He reproaches them for their violation of all treaties, many instances of which he recapitulates, and thus concludes, "And finally, let him conclude, that this imminent war was forced upon his Tzarian majesty, contrary to the faith of treaties, and the sacred tie of public oaths, who thereupon, with God Almighty's assistance, has resolved, in his own defence, to order his army to march to his frontiers against the perfidious enemy, the Sultan of the Turks, and all his confederates and abettors, and to follow it in person himself very soon, and committing, upon his bended knees, the justice of his cause to the same great God's judgment, thus betakes himself to arms."

A long manifesto was likewise sent to his Majesty's ministers in all the courts of Europe, dated February 1711, notifying the intended war, concluding with the following, "We declare before God and before all the world, that we are excusable, and not guilty of all the blood that may be spilt on this occasion, and we have an entire confidence in God that he will assist our just cause, and prosper our arms with victory against an enemy who breaks treaties, and who but a year ago, by so many oaths and promises, confirmed and renewed the peace with us."

The Tzar, accompanied by the Tzarina, joined the army at head-quarters, in the month of May. A great many of the wives of the officers had accompanied their husbands thus far, although it was contrary to military

regulations; but they relied both on the example and the influence of Catherine for permission to join the army. The first order issued by the Tzar was to send all the women away; but his wife interfered, and would not be denied that they should accompany their husbands. Peter found it impossible to deprive her of her companions, and to this circumstance it was probably owing, ultimately saving the Tzar and all his army. Catherine had made herself very popular with the soldiers, who were always pleased to see her on horseback, at the head of the troops, for she would rarely use a carriage. Her presence gave encouragement, and diffused alacrity amongst them. She was always ready to aid the sick and helpless, and would often fill the carriage with the wounded soldiers.

The impetuous Tzar would not wait the arrival of the contingent troops at head-quarters, and marched to the banks of the Pruth with a force not exceeding forty thousand men. He was disappointed in another contingent of his army, which he had calculated upon in Brancovano, the prince of Wallachia who had engaged to furnish him with 30,000 men, who were to join him on the Pruth. Prince Cantimir of Moldavia had likewise declared in favour of the Tzar, but being threatened with the vengeance of the Sultan, he escaped into Russia. Brancovano, alarmed by the threats of the Sultan Achmet, not only failed to supply his contingent, but betrayed the Tzar, and brought him into that danger on the Pruth which threatened destruction to his whole army. Achmet II. had warmly espoused the cause of his guest, Charles XII., and a large Turkish army was put in movement towards the Pruth, where the army of the Grand Vizier amounted to 200,000 men. Whilst

the Turkish forces were passing the Danube, the Tzar was advancing towards the frontiers of Poland: he crossed the Borysthenes to join Marshal Sheremataff, who was already on the banks of the Pruth, and menaced with being surrounded by the Turks and Tartars. The army passed through sandy deserts, suffering great privations during the hot season. The Tzar's dangers were the test of the fidelity of his troops, not a murmur was heard, nor a man deserted his standard. It was a remarkable proof of the patient endurance of which the Russian soldier is capable, when hungry and thirsty, under a heavy load of accoutrements, he makes his patient way, devoted to the service, and faithful to his sovereign.

Peter at length arrived on the banks of the Pruth, when the united Russian army did not amount to more than 40,000 men, without provisions, and with no other ammunition than three rounds for their cannon and musketry, and found themselves encircled by an army of 100,000 Turks, as many Tartars, and reduced to the necessity of either perishing or surrendering. Captain Bruce, an Englishman, then in the Tzar's service, gives an interesting account of this toilsome march of the Russian army, in which he says, "We set out at night to avoid the intense heat of the day, and continued to march for three nights through a barren desert heath, without a drop of water all the way, which was severely felt by both man and beast.

"On the 18th June, 1711, we arrived at the river Pruth, where we lost a number of our baggage horses, by their drinking too plentifully of the water. We passed the river on the 19th near Yassy, the capital and residence of the Prince of Moldavia. At this place Prince Can-

timir joined us in person with a very few attendants, both the Moldavian and Wallachian troops having left him for fear of the Turks. We continued our march down the Pruth till the 21st, when we met a prodigious swarm of locusts, which, at their rising, overshadowed the army like a cloud; they had not only destroyed the grass of the fields, but the tender bark and leaves of the trees. Here again we lost a number of our carriage cattle for want of forage. It was very remarkable, that the locusts never left our army; and we no sooner pitched our tents, than they came down and covered the whole camp. We tried, by firing of cannon and small arms, and burning trains of powder on the ground, to drive them away, but all in vain. They attended us on our march along the river, till the 27th, when we discovered the Turkish army crossing the Pruth. Upon this, General Janus was despatched with a body of troops and twelve pieces of cannon to dispute their passage; but he was too late, for half the army had passed before he could get up to them, so that he found it prudent to retreat to the main body of the army. It was very surprising, that we had not the least intelligence of so numerous an army, which consisted of not less than 200,000 men, till they were actually in sight of us."

The Russian army was now completely surrounded by the enemy, the Tartars on one side, the Turks on the other, and the river in the midst, which was so far an advantage, that it prevented their forming a junction, and left a possible retreat open to the Russians. The Tzar was placed in a most critical position. The Turkish army attacked them for three days and nights; but the discipline to which the Russian troops were now brought, enabled them successfully to resist these attacks,

although they were in want of provisions and even water; for the moment any of them approached the stream, the Turks were ready to cut them off, lying in ambush for that purpose. Peter could not pardon himself for having brought his army into so precarious a situation in an unknown country, and, by this single imprudence, to risk the loss of all his former acquisitions; and he was attacked by those terrible convulsions which shook his gaunt frame when unusually disturbed. In his journal he thus speaks of his position: "The Turkish infantry, although in disorder, fought with great ardour; and, numerous as it was, if it had attacked our front and flanks, we should no doubt have been in a dangerous position; for the enemy's army infinitely surpassed the number of our troops, which consisted only of 31,554 infantry, and 6,692 cavalry, of which the greater part was dismounted. But as they attacked us only on one side, we were able to sustain this by fresh troops, besides having eight guns, eight-pounders, and some field-pieces, which kept up a rapid fire in aid of our musketry. A dreadful slaughter was made in this dense mass of the enemy, for the Turks have admitted that there perished in this action 7,000 men."

The Tzar's opinion of the dangers which surrounded him are given in a letter which he immediately despatched to the senate at Moscow, with some instructions for their guidance, should he never again return to Russia. The original is still preserved in the cabinet of Peter the Great at St. Petersburgh, of which the following is a copy:—"I announce to you that, deceived by false information, and not from my own fault, I find myself in my camp, surrounded by a Turkish army four times more numerous than my own; my provisions ex-

pended, and seeing ourselves on the point of being made prisoners, or being cut in pieces by the enemy, unless Heaven comes to our succour in an unexpected manner. If it happens that I am taken by the Turks, you will only have to consider me as no longer your Tzar and lord; nor to respect any order which may be brought to you on my part, not even should you recognise my hand-writing, but to wait until I come in person. If I must perish, and you receive the news of my death confirmed, then you will proceed to choose for my successor one worthy of your choice."

There were in the Turkish army two officers sent by Charles, viz., Count Poniatowski and Count de Spare. The Grand Vizier, Baltagi Mahomet, deputed the former to wait upon the king, to invite him to pay a visit to his army, which was then about to cross the Danube; but Charles would not condescend to such a step, but insisted upon the Grand Vizier visiting him first. On Poniatowski apologizing for Charles, the vizier, turning to the khan of the Tartars, said, "This is just what I expected: that the proud infidel would behave in this manner."

After three days' resistance of the attacks of the Turks, the Tzar and his army were in so critical a position that there seemed to be no longer any doubt that they must perish, or surrender. But, in the midst of his dangers, Peter's presence of mind never forsook him. He formed his army into a hollow square, placing the women in the centre, that so he might be able to meet the furious onslaught of the Turks; during three days' attack, the loss sustained by the Russians was immense. Uncertain if his troops were equal to forcing a passage through the enemy's ranks, which it was thought Peter

contemplated doing, he gave orders to his generals to prepare for the next day, and that no one should be permitted to intrude upon him in his tent. But the genius of the Tzarina prevailed, not only to save her husband, but probably the Russian empire. Disregarding his orders, she went boldly into his tent, saying, that having accompanied him through so many dangers, she had the right to be heard. The Tzar listened to her suggestions, as she pointed out the perils by which they were surrounded, and urged that he should seek to negotiate a peace with the Grand Vizier, which she undertook to carry herself into effect. Perhaps this was the last thing that would have occurred to Peter, but he permitted her to try the experiment.

Catherine was sufficiently acquainted with the Oriental customs to know that no Turkish grandees could be approached without presents; then, collecting all her jewels and trinkets, she sent them, with a letter from the Marshal Sherematáff to the Vizier, proposing negotiations for a peace. The offer was not immediately accepted; and, after waiting for some hours, during which time they feared that the messenger had either been killed or detained by the Turks, a second officer was despatched. In the meanwhile, a council of war was held, of which the following was the result, signed by ten general officers, as recorded in the Tzar's journal: "Should the Vizier not accept the terms offered, should he insist on our laying down our arms and surrendering at discretion, it is the unanimous opinion of all the generals and ministers, that an attempt be made for breaking through the enemy."

At length the Vizier assented to a suspension of arms, which led to negotiations for a treaty, and the Baron

Sharoff, vice-chancellor of the empire, and General Sherematáff, were deputed to treat with the Vizier; and considering the respective positions of the Russian and Turkish plenipotentiaries, the terms imposed by the latter were not very severe. They required that Asoph and some other fortresses should be given up; and for their guest, Charles XII., the instigator of the war, they demanded a free passage to his dominions through the Russian territory. As a hostage for the due performance of the conditions of this treaty, Major-general Sherematáff, son of the marshal, was sent to Constantinople.

This disastrous expedition to the Pruth is supposed to have cost the Russians 16,000 men, besides some millions of rubles in money and jewels. The loss on the part of the Turks was likewise very great, from their irregular mode of warfare; it was even supposed to have exceeded that of the Russians. The spot where it occurred was not more than sixty or seventy miles from Bender,* where Charles then was; and instead of taking any part in assisting the Turks, he merely sent two of his officers, as already stated, although the war had been chiefly undertaken at his suggestion: he even refused to attend the Vizier until the treaty of peace was signed, and then he dared to ask Mahomet why he had made a treaty without him, since it was on *his* account the Sultan had declared war against Russia. The Vizier replied that his master had not made war for the interests of Sweden, but for those of the Ottoman empire. "But you could," said the king, "have made prisoners the Tzar and all his army." "And if I had taken the

* This treaty was signed at the little village of Fulksen, on the banks of the Pruth.

Tzar," replied Mahomet, "who would have governed his empire? Kings should never come out of their own country." This reproach on Charles, who had abandoned his government, and could not return to it except by the aid of the Turks, is said to have so irritated him, that he tore the Vizier's robe with the end of his spur. Mahomet dissimulated the affront, until he could resent it. Charles did every thing possible to ruin him with the Sultan, and he was at length successful, for he was sent to Rhodes, where (it was believed) he was strangled.

The Vizier who succeeded him showed less disposition than his predecessor to favour the Swedish king: he saw in him an inconvenient guest, always discontented, and fomenting dangerous intrigues amongst the ministers of the Porte. He said to Poniatowski, who came to compliment him, "Infidel! I caution you, that the first intrigue you engage in, I will have you thrown into the sea, with a stone about your neck." The sequel of Charles's history seems to show, that his mind was shattered by the reverses of fortune which he had undergone; for, after remaining five years in Turkey, with the lowest companions, he continued his intrigues amongst the Turks, when Achmet ordered that he should leave his dominions. An escort was sent for him, with a supply of money; the Khan of the Krimea, a friend of Charles, entreated him to submit to the will of the Sultan. But he persisted in remaining, and would see the Grand Seignior himself.

Achmet was astonished at the hardihood of one who had so long subsisted on his bounty, and particularly that Charles should desire to see him, as if to remonstrate with him. He ordered them to employ force against him, if he would not otherwise quit the country;

and that they should conduct him, dead or alive, to Adrianople. But the redoubtable King of Sweden thought it a disgrace to yield, even to an army of Turks surrounding his house at Bender; he sustained the siege, even with his few attendants of vassals and grooms, and at length fled, in the disguise of a carman, to his own country, where he had not been for so long a time that his death was currently believed.

As soon as the intelligence of the treaty reached Constantinople, the Russian Ambassador, Count Tolstoy, and his attendants, were released from the castle of the Seven Towers—the hostages were well received—great rejoicings took place, by order of the Sultan—and the grand Vizier's conduct was much approved of by him, Baltagi Mahomet, who had been only a sword cleaner in the seraglio, which his name implies. Peter lost no time in retracing his steps to his own dominions; he returned towards Yassy, with a corps of 8,000 men, followed by a considerable army of Turks, to observe their march, and to prevent the Tartars annoying them on the way. The Tzar carried out the terms of the treaty by ordering some of the fortresses to be demolished, which was stipulated for; but there was some delay in the surrender of Asoph and Taganrog, at which the Sultan grew impatient, and disgraced the Vizier because the keys of the fortress were not immediately forwarded to him; but Asoph was at length restored to the Grand Seignior, with whom another treaty was entered into by the Tzar, in which he stipulated to withdraw his troops from Poland within three months, requiring at the same time that Charles should immediately withdraw from Turkey into his own dominions.

The health of the Tzar now required that he should

benefit by the waters of Carlsbad. From thence he passed to Dresden, and to Torgoud, to attend the ceremony of his son's (Alexis) marriage with a Princess of Wolfenbuttle, and sister-in-law of the emperor Charles VI. Peter, after reviewing the troops under General Bawer, returned to St. Petersburgh, where he celebrated his marriage again with the Tzarina, and a high festival was held amidst the joyous acclamations of the people. The new city was now fast developing itself; he resolved to make it the capital of his empire, and, as the first step towards it, he removed the senate from Moscow. Dwelling-houses of a more substantial nature were constructed—an exchange was planned—a foundry for cannon was finished—new roads were opened, and warehouses built—the admiralty was finished, from which new ships were launched, and others laid down—every thing indicated the growth of a large city, which was soon to become the capital of the empire. The commercial advantages by the Baltic now began to be manifested, and the people became reconciled to its becoming the new capital, in which the Tzar received, for the first time (1712), a foreign embassy, which was sent him by Shah Hussein, King of Persia: amongst the presents were included some lions, and an elephant. This complimentary embassy to the Tzar was gratifying to him, although sent by a feeble sovereign, who was soon after displaced from his throne.

Peter now made fresh preparations for war against his old enemy, Sweden. Nearly the whole of Pomerania was over-run. A fleet was prepared by the Swedes to arrest his progress, but the Tzar was ready to meet them, and, setting sail for Cronstadt, he fell in with them close to the Island of Eland. He destroyed several of their

ships, and made their admiral prisoner. Even Stockholm trembled at his approach; but Peter, instructed by the misfortunes of Charles, and remembering the dangers which he had incurred on the banks of the Pruth, felt the peril he incurred of penetrating into an enemy's country, he knew, likewise, that too many conquests required a division of his forces, and that, instead of strengthening, they rather enfeeble the conqueror. Content with having made the Swedes tremble, and in establishing his maritime power, he left the command in Finland to Prince Galitzen, and returned to St. Petersburgh with all his prizes. On his return, he performed a feat of great heroism. The fleet was exposed to be wrecked during a stormy night, the pilot not being acquainted with the coast, when the fear of death almost deprived the sailors the power of defending their lives. Peter was the only one tranquil amongst the commanders. They had lost their reckonings, and in order to guide them, he boldly ventured into a small boat amidst the stormy ocean, and navigated it for two leagues to the opposite coast, where he succeeded in lighting a fire, which served as a beacon to warn them off that coast, and the whole of the fleet reached Cronstadt in safety.

The victorious army made a triumphal entry into St. Petersburgh. The frigate and the galleys taken from the Swedes were floated up the Neva, and the Tzar, in his capacity of rear-admiral, made a report to the Senate of the battle, on which they immediately conferred upon him the rank of vice-admiral, showing, by his own example, that merit was the only road to rank. He had once before solicited this grade, and had presented his request to the admiralty, on the examination of which it was refused, since his services were not deemed of

sufficient importance. Such was the excellent discipline then established in the Russian navy, and another admiral at the time obtained the preference. The Tzar commended the impartiality of the council, but it was understood that, at the time of making the request, he had ordered the refusal.

St. Petersburgh was a scene of festivity such as had never before been known in Russia. The Prince Rodomanovski had been entrusted by Peter with almost supreme authority during his absence, and now, seated on a throne, the procession passed before him of the conquerors and the conquered; amongst the former, the Tzar, Peter, remained mixed up with the other naval officers in his rank of vice-admiral only, and amongst the latter figured the Swedish admiral, whom he had made prisoner. They were all presented to the Prince on his throne, who congratulated Peter on his accession of rank for the services done his country. After the ceremony, Peter, throwing off the vice-admiral that he might assume the sovereign, elevated his voice, and thus spoke to his assembled subjects:—"My brothers, who amongst you, thirty years ago, would have thought of building one day a fleet, then having only one vessel on the Baltic, that we should, likewise, build a city in a territory conquered by our labours and our valour, and that there should be born of Russian blood victorious combatants, and skilful navigators! Could you have foreseen that so many enlightened men, industrious workpeople, distinguished artists, would come from the different countries of Europe to cause the arts to flourish in our own country—that we should impose such respect on foreign powers—that so much glory should be in reserve for us! We read in history that the

sciences formerly chose their asylum in Greece, and that, when driven out by the revolutions of time, they spread into Italy, and from thence into all the different countries of Europe. By the negligence of our ancestors, they were arrested in Poland, and could not reach us: but the Germans and the Poles have been plunged in the same darkness and ignorance in which we have languished for so long a time. It is by the care of the sovereigns that their eyes are at length opened; they have inherited the sciences and the arts from Greece. At length our time is come, if you second me in my enterprises—if you join labour to obedience, the transmigration of science may be compared to the circulation of the blood. I hope that, abandoning one day Germany, France, and England, they will remain some time amongst us to return into Greece, their ancient country."

The remainder of this great day was given up to an "*abandon*" of gaiety and enjoyment. The intercourse of the Russians with other nations had, in a few years, changed the whole tone of their society, and had diffused amongst them a taste for pleasures heretofore unknown in Russia; and civilization was introduced equal almost to that of the other European capitals. Public dinners were given at the palace of the Tzar, to which all classes of people were invited, and seated according to their respective ranks. At these public dinners, tables were laid out and appropriated to the different grades of the Tzar's guests, from the senators even to the shipbuilders. Every class of persons were invited, the nobles, the clergy, the officers of the army and navy, &c., and the masters of foreign vessels. Peter moved amongst them, familiarly conversing with his subjects, making minute enquiries into their respective

trades and occupations, and noting down such things in his pocket-book as seemed to him worthy of notice: he would talk with the Dutch shippers most familiarly, and seemed never better pleased than to be called by them "Skipper Peter."

St. Petersburgh had now become a city of considerable importance. The summer and winter palaces were finished in the course of 1715, where public dinners were given on grand occasions. The dinner hour was twelve o'clock; and, although the Tzar was simple and abstemious in his habits of life, yet he took great pleasure in seeing his guests enjoy themselves, and would encourage them frequently to drink until they became intoxicated; he would likewise join in, and amuse himself with their fêtes and revels. His own table was exceedingly frugal, and he was equally moderate in his eating and drinking. One dish only was served up at a time; and in order to have it hot, the dining-room was contiguous to the kitchen, from whence the dish was received through a small window. The dishes were extremely plain—soup with vegetables in it, cold roast meat, ham, and cheese: such was his fare when dining alone with the Tzarina, with which he would take a cup of quass, or in lieu of this, a glass of wine.

Peter was very desirous that his subjects should assimilate themselves to the manners and customs of the European nations which he had visited, and public assemblies were held, open to all ranks, foreigners as well as natives. By these means, he made himself universally popular, and his subjects, instead of being invited, and almost forced to his new capital, flocked to it from all parts, of which they became proud, as well as of their great sovereign, who, by the force of his genius

and his persevering activity, had created every thing which surrounded them. His activity in ship-building was so great, that several ships of ten or twelve hundred tons burthen were soon completed and equipped, in the course of twelve months.

We have an interesting account of the palace entertainments, in the handwriting of Dr. Birch, to be found among the Sloane papers in the British Museum, of which the following is a copy:—"There are twenty-four cooks belonging to the kitchen of the Russian Court, who are all Russians, and as people of that nation use a great deal of onions, garlic, and train oil, in dressing their meat, and employ linseed and walnut oil for their provisions, there is such an intolerable stink in their kitchen that no stranger is able to bear it, especially the cooks being such nasty fellows, that the very sight of them is enough to turn one's stomach; these are the men, who, on great festivals, dress about seventy or eighty or more dishes. But the fowls which are for the Tzar's own eating are very often dressed by his grand marshal, Alseffiof, who is running up and down, with his apron before him, among the other cooks till it is time to take up dinner, when he puts on his fine clothes and full-bottomed wig, and helps to serve up the dinner. The number of persons invited is generally two or three hundred, though there is generally room for no more than above a hundred at four or five tables; but as there is no place assigned to anybody, and none of the Russians are willing to go home with an empty stomach, everybody is obliged to seize his chair and hold it with all his force, if he will not have it snatched from him.

"The Tzar being come in, and having chosen a place for himself, there is such scuffling and fighting for chairs,

that nothing more scandalous can be seen in any company, though the Tzar does not mind it in the least, nor does he take care for putting a stop to such disorder, pretending that a ceremony, and the formal regulations of a marshal make people sit uneasy and spoil the pleasure of conversation. Several foreign ministers have complained of this to the Tzar, and refuse to dine any more at court, but all the answer they got was, that it was not the Tzar's business to turn master of the ceremonies, and please foreigners, nor was it his intention to abolish the freedom once introduced, this obliged strangers for the future to follow the Russian fashion, in defending the possession of their chairs, by cuffing and boxing their opposer. The company thus sitting down to table without any manner of grace, they all sit so crowded together, that they have much ado to lift their hands to their mouths, and if a stranger happens to sit between two Russians, which is commonly the case, he is sure of losing his stomach, though he should have happened to have eat nothing for two days before. Carpenters and shipwrights sit next to the Tzar; but senators, ministers, generals, priests, sailors, buffoons of all kinds, sit pell-mell, without any distinction. The first course consists of nothing but cold meats, among which are hams, dried tongues, and the like, which, not being liable to such tricks as shall be mentioned hereafter, strangers ordinarily make their whole meal of them, without tasting anything else, though generally speaking, every one takes his dinner before-hand at home.

"Soups and roasted meats make the second course, and pastry the third. As soon as one sits down, one is obliged to drink a cup of brandy, after which they ply you with great glasses of adulterated tokay, and other

vitiated wines, and between whiles, a bumper of the strongest English beer, by which mixture of liquors every one of the guests is fuddled before the soup is served up. The company being in this condition make such a noise, racket, and halloing, that it is impossible to hear one another, or even to hear the music, which is playing in the next room, consisting of a sort of trumpets, and cornets, for the Tzar hates violins, and with this revelling noise and uproar the Tzar is extremely diverted, particularly if the guests fall to boxing and get bloody noses.

"Formerly the company had no napkin given them, but instead of it they had a piece of very coarse linen given them by a servant, who brought in the whole piece under his arm, and cut off half an ell for every person, which they are at liberty to carry home with them, for it had been observed that these pilfering guests used sometimes to pocket the napkins; but at present two or three Russians must make shift with but one napkin, which they pull and haul for, like hungry dogs for a bone. Each person of the company has but one plate during dinner, so if some Russian does not care to mix the sauces of the different dishes together, he pours the soup that is left in his plate, either into the dish or into his neighbour's plate, or even under the table, after which he licks his plate clean with his finger, and, last of all, wipes it with the table-cloth. The tables are each thirty or forty feet long, and ten and a-half broad; three or four messes of one and the same course are served up to each table; the dessert consists of divers sorts of pastry and fruits, but the Tzarina's table is furnished with sweetmeats: however, it is to be observed that these sweetmeats are only set out on great festivals for a show,

and that the Russians of the best fashion, have nothing for their desert but the produce of the kitchen-garden, as peas, beans, &c., all raw. At great entertainments it frequently happens that nobody is allowed to go out of the room from noon till midnight, hence it is easy to imagine what pickle a room must be in, that is full of people who drink like beasts, and none of them escape being dead drunk.

"They often tie eight or ten young mice in a string, and hide them under green peas, or in such soups as the Russians have the greatest appetite to, which sets them a kicking and vomiting in a most beastly manner, when they come to the bottom and discover the trick; they often bake cats, wolves, ravens, and the like, in their pastries, and when the company have eaten them up, they tell them what they have in their guts!

"The present butler is one of the Tzar's buffoons, to whom he has given the name of *Wiaschi*, with this privilege, that if any one else calls him by that name he has leave to drub him with his wooden sword. If, therefore, anybody, by the Tzar's setting them on, calls out *Wiaschi*, as the fellow does not know exactly who it was, he falls a beating them all round, beginning with Prince Menzikoff, and ending with the last of the company, without excepting even the ladies, whom he strips of their head clothes, as he does the old Russians with their wigs, which he tramples upon, on which occasion it is pleasant enough to see the variety of their bald pates. Besides these employments or entertainments, the said Wiaschi is also surveyor of the ice, and executioner for torturing people, on which occasion he gives them the knout himself, and his dexterity in the business has already procured him above thirty thousand thalers, the

sixth part of the confiscated estates of the sufferer being his perquisite."

Peter now resolved to shed some more rays of glory on the Tzarina, to recompense the services which she had rendered to him on the banks of the Pruth. He instituted the Order of "St. Catherine," and decorated her with it himself; this mark of honour was only granted to ladies of the first distinction. The Swedish generals and other officers of rank, made prisoners by the Russians, were allowed to live free at Moscow, enjoying themselves with all the pleasures it would afford, which contrasts much with the severity which the Russian officers experienced in Sweden, who were captured by Charles XII., but with respect to the subaltern officers, they were too numerous to keep in the great cities. They were accordingly dispersed soon after they were taken, and more than two-thirds of them were sent to different parts of the empire; one-half that number were sent to Siberia; those who had talents and industry exercised themselves in their general callings; many adopted the manners and religion of the Russians—in this way, Peter acquired a great many useful and valuable subjects.

Some of the Swedes established manufactories, others became jewellers, turners, shoemakers, and tailors; a great number were employed in the works of the mines, and others on the canals of St. Petersburgh and the canal of Ladoga: to such vassalage were many of the Swedish nobles reduced, by the obstinacy of their king, who would never submit to an exchange of prisoners. The Tzar redoubled his activity for the increase of his navy, his recent victories over the Swedes having proved

to him the advantage of a large marine force; and within twelve months fifty vessels were built at the Admiralty of St. Petersburgh, and launched upon the Neva. He had, besides, numerous ships, of different classes, purchased in England and Holland, which were now anchoring at the port of Cronstadt. There was a sort of fanaticism in the Tzar's maritime progress; he desired to see all his subjects capable of navigating the Neva, over which he would never allow a bridge to be built, but that they should trust themselves to small boats. Even the women would imitate the courage of the monarch, and sometimes encounter death itself in small sailing-vessels where accidents constantly happened. But nothing could change Peter's inflexible will, who was as great amidst the fire as on the water. The moment the alarm of fire was given, the monarch was to be seen in the midst of the flames, and with his hatchet cutting away the wooden buildings, like some proprietor seeking to save some wreck of his property. By his address and intrepidity, he set an example to his subjects which inspired them with both awe and admiration; but he gave orders that no more houses should be built of wood in the best quarters of the city, which had now become the capital of Russia; it was the residence of the court, of the principal nobility, and of the foreign ambassadors. The rapidity with which it advanced to prosperity was unparalleled.

It was impossible, during the various avocations of the Tzar, the internal affairs of the empire could have that vigilant attention which they demanded; his mighty mind was required to direct all, and his eye to survey all, in an age when public probity was almost

unknown in Russia; peculations on a large scale, even amongst his favourite officers, were brought to light, which both confounded and exasperated Peter. The army had been badly paid—trade destroyed, by frauds and exactions, which threatened destruction to foreign commerce, of which the Dutch complained bitterly—the revenues were in such a state of confusion that Peter at once proceeded to their examination, and found that amongst the guilty there were those whom he had most loved, and whose talents had the best served him, including Prince Menzikoff and Admiral Apraxin, with several others, both of the military and naval service, and to the friendship of their sovereign they owed their escape with their lives: they pleaded, and with some justice, that in their absence it had been done by their servants: this was in great part admitted by the Tzar, but he confiscated the greater part of the property of those whose agents were proved to be guilty, many of whom were sentenced to the knout, and some were sent to Siberia. The Tzar set an example of enforcing inflexible honesty amongst his subjects, which was attended with but few beneficial results: a tribunal was formed in the senate, where he passed whole days in directing their operations, but few of the sums abstracted from the public treasury returned to the Tzar's coffers; new governors were appointed, by whom the people continued to be oppressed, so little was then known amongst them of the principles of honour and integrity.

The history of Charles XII. is so much mixed up with that of Peter the Great, that we must shortly again revert to it. We have seen him arrive at Stralsund, *incog.*, with a few men only: the Swedish senate had

long refused to obey the orders of so dangerous a prince, and they had invested a Regent, Ulrique, with almost supreme power, who had sent to the Tzar an officer charged with a message of peace, when just at that moment they learned that their mad king was about to return to his dominions, and the negotiation was abandoned. Charles, far from wishing for peace, only thought how he might regain the provinces taken from him. His first act was to announce his return to the King of Prussia, and to demand from him the restitution of Stettin, to which, in reply, the King demanded his expenses for the war. Nothing had irritated Charles so much as this loss; he determined by force of arms to get back what he had lost, and sent a requisition to the senate for troops and for money. During his absence of five years, great changes had taken place in the European states, of which Charles was ignorant. When his old antagonist, Peter, had acquired undisputed influence from the Elbe to the Baltic, the claims of the different states, by the treaty with Peter already alluded to, were set up upon Sweden, which she had no power to resist; her resources had been drained by Charles, and the people losing their confidence in him would not immediately respond to his calls.

In this fearful exigency, when, without men or money, it looked like the fury of despair to hold out against so many powers who had claims on his states, this mad king regarded them all with contempt, and relied solely upon his own courage. His subjects, who blamed and pitied him, could yet sympathize with his misfortunes; they could not forget that he had covered the name of his country with glory; and although they were exhausted by his numerous expensive wars, yet they granted him

some supplies, and he defended himself most gallantly in Stralsund, against the united attacks of the Danes, the Prussians, and the Saxons, who besieged the place where Charles was shut in; almost all his officers were killed or wounded—he underwent the fatigues of the common soldiers, who were supported by the courage which animated him. Stralsund was soon reduced to a heap of ruins. Charles was urged to fly, and succeeded in making his escape by water to Carlscrona, where he remained during the following winter, meditating new projects and future conquests.

The dominions of the Tzar had by this time been so much enlarged that the people of Stockholm had reason to fear his appearance at their gates, since Russian aggrandizement was no longer a fable, but it had been realized by Peter's genius and activity. Nearly the whole of Finland was annexed to his dominions, with the provinces of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, and Esthonia; through the outlets to the sea, which he had established from his new capital, a communication was kept up between civilized Europe and his own territories, producing in them the most prosperous results; large armies occupied his new acquisitions, and it was thought he would reduce Sweden to the same subjection, which would give him the command of the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia. But Peter was no conqueror for the glory resulting from it; he was for consolidating his conquests, and turning them to good account for his Empire; he profited by the example of the headstrong Charles, not to fall into similar errors, who had brought his kingdom into great jeopardy, and it was now falling to pieces from its own weakness. Peter declared to Goortz, the minister of Charles, that he did not make

war for the sake of glory, but for the good of his empire, and that he had no feelings of animosity against an enemy whom he had deprived of the power of doing mischief.

The domestic happiness of the Tzar was much increased, by Catherine's presenting him with another son, Peter Petrovitch. He sent off immediately to the fortress an aide-de-camp general, to have the news announced to his loving subjects by salvoes of artillery; a few days before, Peter had expressly ordered that none should be allowed to enter the fortress after twilight; the sentinel refused to let the officer pass, who remonstrated with him in vain, saying that the Tzar had despatched him on some important business. "My orders," said the sentinel, "are not to allow any one to pass, and unless you retreat directly you are a dead man." The aide-de-camp returned to inform his sovereign what had taken place: the impatient Tzar set off immediately for the fortress, without any attendants, and ordered the sentinel to let him pass: "Impossible!" said he. "I conjure you—I order you!" "I shall not obey," said he. "Do you know who I am? I am the Tzar!" "Whether it may be so or not," said the sentinel, "my orders are from the Tzar himself, not to allow any one to pass; therefore I shall prevent your entering." "God has granted me a son," said Peter, "and I wish to have it announced to the people at the cannon's mouth." "A son!" said the sentinel; "this is too important not to be announced; you may shoot me in the morning, but the people shall rejoice to-day:" and then he admitted the Tzar into his fortress.

On this occasion, a kind of carnival was held which lasted some days; splendid entertainments, balls, and

fireworks, followed in rapid succession. The Kings of Denmark and Prussia were godfathers to the young Prince. The principal inhabitants of St. Petersburgh kept open house; their tables were spread with cold meats and plenty of brandy, so that scarcely a sober person could be found in the whole city. Captain Bruce gives a description of a grand gala which the Tzar gave at the senate-house, when each guest was required to drink off a large glass called the "double eagle," containing a full bottle of wine, and of the tragical event which followed it to an Englishman—

"To avoid it, I made my escape, pretending to the officer on guard that I was going with a message from the Tzar, which he believing, let me pass. I went to the house of Mr. Kelderman, who had formerly been one of the Tzar's tutors, and was still in great favour with him. Mr. Kelderman followed very soon after, but not before he had drunk off his double eagle; and, coming into his own house, he complained that he was sick of drinking, and, sitting down by the table, laid his head upon it, appearing as if he had fallen asleep. This being a common custom with him, his wife and daughters took no notice of it, till after some time, observing him neither to move nor breathe, and coming close up to him, we found he was dead, which threw the family into great confusion. Knowing the esteem in which he stood with the Tzar, I went and informed him of the sudden death of Mr. Kelderman. His Majesty's concern for the event brought him immediately to the house, where he condoled with the widow for the loss of her husband, and ordered an honourable burial of the deceased at his own expense, and settled on her an annuity for life." Some time after this event, the birth of a grandson was

announced to the Tzar, which occasioned great rejoicing, though very much damped by the death of the mother, the Princess of Wolfenbuttle, whose marriage to the Tzarovitch, Alexis, has already been noticed. His brutal conduct to his wife was the cause of accelerating her death; the poor princess refused all nourishment and medicines, and said that she had no other wish than to die in quiet. Her demise occasioned great grief to the Tzar and Tzarina. This young prince succeeded to the throne after the death of Catherine I.

Peter had a garden at St. Petersburgh laid out on an island in which was built a large banquetting-room. When an entertainment was given in the garden, it was necessary that the company should come in boats; and, in order to accommodate the different ranks of the guests, he presented them accordingly with yachts and small sailing vessels, barges of twelve oars, and smaller boats, which means of conveyance were given them on this condition, that each should keep his vessel in repair, and, when worn out, build another at his own expense. Sailing expeditions were frequently given on the Neva, even as far as Cronstadt, when all the manœuvres of a fleet were put in practice by signals and other means.

We shall pause for a short time from the historic narrative of Peter the Great, to inquire into the revenues and military force of Russia at this time, 1714, which it is interesting to trace; but the reports on these subjects are too obscure to permit of great accuracy. Although the Tzar had been engaged in such expensive wars, requiring thereby the maintaining large armies and fleets, and had spent so much money on his new city of St. Petersburgh and other public works, yet he always found the supplies in his own dominions, nor had

ever been obliged to contract debts. We will endeavour to trace the sources of these supplies, so far as they can be safely arrived at. They consisted of three sorts—personal service, provisions, and money. Among the first were the Cossacs of the Ukraine, formerly subject to Poland, and afterwards to the Tzar, Alexis. In the treaty of submission, in which they acknowledged the Tzar's supremacy, and claimed his protection, in consideration of their privileges of liberty of trade, and that no Russians, nor foreigners, should be obtruded upon them, they engaged to furnish him on the first summons with a body of 60,000 horsemen—a most invaluable corps of cavalry, which may be termed skirmishers, or light troops. The Kalmucks were obliged to furnish some hordes for military service; but they were seldom employed, since they could never be brought into any state of subordination. They were an errant people, living on the frontiers of great Tartary, too remote from the seat of government to be coerced, and too independent always to obey orders.

The Tartars likewise were obliged to mount on the orders of the Tzar, in warlike expeditions; they inhabited the provinces about Astracan, and were principally Mahommedans. These contingents were furnished to the Sovereign free of expense, and so were the recruits with which the country was obliged to furnish him, and in such numbers as the Tzar might order. The mode of levying them was very confused, and subject to much abuse.

A short time before the campaign was to begin, orders were sent from the war-office to the colonels, containing the names of the villages out of which they were to take so many men, which method brought the very refuse of

mankind into the field; for the officers, having their private interests more at heart than that of the Tzar, they made use of frightening men with the service, to extort money from those who were averse to it; and scarcely could a voluntary soldier be found amongst them: they were sometimes carried, two and two tied together, either to the army or to Moscow.

There were at this time raised about 20,000 recruits annually, and, during the first year's service, more of them were supposed to have perished from hunger and cold than from the enemy. After the overthrow of the Russians at Narva, the levies were so extended and so strict that even the households of the nobility were not exempted from them, which, as some maintained four or five hundred footmen, the fourth or fifth of them was draughted to carry arms. The sailors also were levied by an imperial ukase, taking them principally from the provinces lying on great rivers, where, as the people were accustomed to navigate the rivers on leather boats sewed together, it was thought that they would soon make accomplished seamen. But, as the Tzar's ships increased, the supplies from these sources were quite inadequate to his wants, and his Majesty took extraordinary care for supplying them by other means, and would even send out officers of the guards with orders under his own hand to proceed as they may see fit to raise the requisite number of men. But, in addition to the services of the army and navy, the subjects of the Tzar were obliged to supply him with labourers for public works by right of villenage, which enabled him to make such rapid progress with the many fortresses and edifices which were in building at one time. The labourers were furnished with their travelling expenses, and sub-

sistence for six months from the towns or villages which supplied them, but the Tzar paid them their wages at the rate of a rouble per month, or tenpence per week, sometimes with augmentation, according to their good behaviour; but such was the waste of human lives at those public works of St. Petersburgh, and Taganrog on the Black Sea, that more than 300,000 persons are supposed to have perished from hunger and disease, contracted on the marshy grounds. Those contingents comprised the personal services of his subjects to the Tzar of Russia.

Provisions for his armies made up another considerable part of his revenue, which consisted of contributions of corn, groats, and oatmeal, on the villages near which the troops may be quartered, which amounted to no small quantity; and in some cases the peasants were forced to deliver these contributions even at St. Petersburgh. This was often more costly than the provisions themselves, hence farmers were employed to assess the imports and deliver them; but this proved such an intolerable burthen, in consequence of the abuses perpetrated by them on the villagers, that numbers of them ran away from their possessions. This oppression continued for a long time; every one was afraid to inform the Tzar, when, at length, a paper was sent to him containing a list of the grievous oppressors of the people, amongst whom he found all the great men of Russia. He immediately ordered a grand inquiry as to these abuses, and both senators and an incredible number of the Tzar's officers were found involved in it. Many of them put it off on their servants, whom, during their absence, they had no opportunity to check, but others who could not justify their conduct, were severely pun-

ished, some with the knout, some having red-hot irons drawn over their tongues, whilst others were banished to Siberia. When the inquiry was over, better regulations were made to prevent future frauds of the commissaries, and for a time the burthen of these imposts lay much lighter on the people.

The Tzar's treasury was replenished with two levies of ready money, the constant and the variable. The constant revenue arose from ordinary taxes, which on the Russian peasant amounted to 68½ copeks annually, or about 8d. English. The inhabitants of towns paid, in addition to the above, ground-rents, and a tax on estates, real and personal. The possessions of the inhabitants were divided into certain classes, and rated according to value, some of them paying from half a copek to five or six hundred rubles, the first class were only the very rich nobles. The variable revenues, or extraordinary taxes, were more of free gifts, or benevolences, on particular occasions: these vary so much, according to circumstances, that no estimate of them can be made. One of these circumstances was the breaking out of the war with the Turks in 1711, and another may be, when the ordinary revenue falls short. Notwithstanding the government imposts were light, yet the country groaned under a great burthen by the oppression of the nobles and great landholders: the minds of the people seem to have been stupified by their oppressors: they made no improvement in husbandry, and some of them ran away from their habitations, and became fugitives in the forest, since the nobles in another province would not harbour them. They were bound by a provincial law, that if they found any strange peasant on their estate, to deliver him up to his rightful owner, or to forfeit the

sum of twenty-five rubles for every year that they may detain him.

Besides the public taxes thus levied, the Tzar had his private revenues as his own property, amounting to about four hundred thousand rubles per annum, with which he supported his household; nor was it ever known that he appropriated any money levied upon his subjects for private purposes. These revenues were derived from estates, confiscations, fines, royalties, and other incidentals specially belonging to the crown; for public purposes he had also the right of coinage, which was done in the Tzar's name, and for his profit. The licensing of public-houses produced him a revenue of a million of rubles annually. The sale of tobacco was also reserved to the Tzar, and the monopoly of pot-ash, isinglass, &c., which yielded a large profit to the royal treasury; the salt-works were likewise the Tzar's property, adding about thirty thousand rubles annually to his coffers. The customs' revenue of Russia were at this time very considerable, when custom-houses were established at the principal ports, but of which we get no exact returns. The amount of the Russian military forces, in 1717, was about a hundred thousand regular troops, besides the contingents already alluded to. The Tzar's body-guard consisted of ten thousand men, whom he considered to be the principal support of his government: these grew out of that little band of fifty men, which he first established in his exile at Probajinski, whom he clothed and exercised in the German fashion; he was able at length to oppose them to the Strelitz, which corps he disbanded when they had rebelled against him, and nearly dethroned him. These guards subsequently shook the throne which they were raised to

defend, and caused those revolutions in the succeeding reigns which so agitated the Russian empire. Paul sought to overthrow them, but he was himself overthrown by them. It was at the beginning of the seventeenth century that maps of Russia were first laid down. Geographers were sent into the different provinces, in order to obtain the best topographical information, and they were the first to ascertain the form of the Caspian Sea.

Peter re-established relations between Russia and China, which had been for some time interrupted, and at the request of Cham-ha-liu, the Tzar sent him a surgeon, having selected, in preference to one of his own countrymen, an Englishman named Laurence Lang, one well acquainted with the political state of China, its productions, and its commerce. The private life of the Tzar was an example to his subjects, not to give themselves up to the indulgences of sloth and effeminacy: he was to be seen out every day commonly on foot, or if in winter, in a simple horse-sledge, or an open cabriolet without springs. Every one was allowed to approach and to speak to him; he was very slightly attended, and without parade might be daily seen in the streets of St. Petersburgh, examining and directing the works going forward, both public and private. In the midst of his numerous occupations, Peter found time to keep a journal of his wars and principal events,* which has afforded so much history to his biographers; he found time to write a number of letters to his ministers and generals, but his friendships were sometimes terrible, for in his wrath, or in his cups, in which he used much to indulge, he would strike them such a blow as to require the aid of the doctor, when he would visit them,

* This journal has been frequently copied from by the Author.

and console them for his rashness. He was at times intemperate at table: the climate of the north and his excitable temper led to this.

The breaking up of the ice on the Neva is always a grand event at St. Petersburgh, which was ordered by Peter to be celebrated annually as a grand festival, this generally occurs from the 6th to the 14th April, old style, the end of April is considered the last day, and the beginning of March the earliest day that the ice breaks up, when crowds are attracted to the spot, waiting with anxiety to see re-established the communication across the Neva. Masses of ice float down the river in great force from the Lake Ladoga, which is announced by roars of guns from the fortress, when the people are prohibited from crossing upon the ice, until the Pontoon bridge is re-established. This cannot be done at once, since the immense blocks of ice floating on the water prevent the construction of the bridge immediately; sometimes the communication is cut off with the opposite side for ten or twelve days, during which period the police keep a vigilant look-out, to prevent the people from risking their lives on the floating blocks of ice, which they would be impatient to do if not prevented.*

* The sides of the Neva now present a very animated scene, the most interesting which I witnessed at St. Petersburgh. When the river is completely open, the commandant of the fortress repairs in his gondola to the Emperor's Palace, to inform his Imperial Majesty that the Neva is free again to the navigation of his subjects, and he presents a goblet of the water to the Emperor, who drinks it off to the health of his dear citizens of the capital. It was usual for the Tzar to fill the goblet with ducats before he returned it to the commandant; but by degrees it was enlarged, thereby not only giving the Emperor more water to drink, but requiring a greater number of ducats to fill it. So the affair was at length compromised for a fixed sum of 200 ducats. The opening of the river has a further interest attached to it, since it is associated with the

Peter now determined on a second visit to Europe, to improve his knowledge of other nations; it was nineteen years since he had left his own country to acquire information abroad; he was then young, ignorant, and unknown, but now he was become famous throughout the world; he had attained splendid victories, and had conquered many provinces. His triumphs were not only of arms, but of civilization over barbarism; he had emancipated a great empire, and had placed Russia in a permanent position amongst other nations; he was now seeking the means of increasing her prosperity. Peter lived but for his country; her welfare was a passion with him, and so devoted was he to his patriotism, that life itself would have been scarcely deemed too costly a sacrifice to be laid on her altar.

He left St. Petersburgh on the 7th May, 1716, accompanied by the Tzarina, and went to Dantzic; he left his wife behind him at Schoverein, she being far advanced in her third pregnancy, and she was to rejoin him in Holland, where she was delivered of a prince, who died the next day, but she joined her husband in Amsterdam in the course of a month from that time. At Dantzic, the Tzar had an interview with the King of Poland, and in that city he celebrated the marriage of his niece with the Duke of Mecklenburgh; he then went to Copenhagen, and was received with great distinction by the King of Denmark. A squadron of British ships was at that time in the harbour, com-

return of Spring, and in a very short time the trees on the Admiralty Boulevard are in full bloom, which I witnessed to occur in about a week. The Neva is soon navigated by parties of pleasure, who may be seen upon it in superb barges, when they make libations in champagne wine, to the magnificent river which so favours them.—Author.

manded by Sir John Norris, and a squadron of Dutch ships—these, added to the Russian squadron, put to sea, it being reported that the Swedish fleet was out.

The Tzar hoisted his flag, as commander of the united squadron of the Dutch, Danish, English, and Russian ships; he was saluted by all the admirals—even the most experienced sailors in the world were ready to obey a Russian commander, for the first time, that had ever been to sea with such a fleet, which was composed of sixteen Russian ships of war, the same number of English and Danes, without reckoning frigates and sloops, and of twenty-five Dutch ships. The Swedes did not appear, but concealed themselves within their port. The Tzar is said to have been more gratified with this command than with any honours he ever received. On his arrival at Amsterdam, he was welcomed with an enthusiasm almost amounting to idolatry, from whence he conducted the Tzarina to Saardam, the place of his former residence, and of his labours. The quay was crowded where he landed, and shouts of "Welkine, welkine, Peter Barns!" resounded from a thousand mouths. He was recognised by a female in the crowd, who stepped up to greet him. "My good woman, do you know who I am?" inquired the Tzar. "Yes, by your Majesty being, nineteen years ago, so frequently at our house and table; I am the wife of Bass Pool." Peter then embraced her, and invited himself to dine with her that day. Amongst his old acquaintance Peter recognised Kist, the blacksmith, to whom he made a handsome present, and he said would visit the old smithy, which was so dirty, that the gentlemen of his suite, retreated from it. Peter stepped forward and would blow the bellows, and heat a piece of iron, which he beat out with a great hammer. Every

one was anxious to bring forward some little circumstance attending his former visit, all of which he recognised with good-humour.

The Tzar's movements were as rapid as before, and his eye was as piercing as ever. The little cottage which he had formerly occupied had undergone a great change, and was now called "The House of the Prince." On visiting his former residence, he was much affected, and requested to be left alone for some time: the reminiscences of his life, since he was last here, must have been highly interesting. On being joined by those attending him, he observed, "I have been able to reform my nation, but not to reform myself." He often complained bitterly of having been badly brought up, and that he could not correct the vices of his early education. This little cottage is carefully preserved; it is surrounded by a neat building, with large arched windows, having the appearance of a conservatory or green-house, which was erected in 1823, by order of the Princess of Orange, sister to the present Emperor, who purchased it to secure its preservation. In the first room you still see the little oak-table and three chairs, which completed the furniture when Peter occupied it; over the chimney-piece is written, "Pietro magno Alexander," and in the Russian and Dutch, "To a great man nothing is little." The ladder to the loft still remains; and, in the second little room below, are models and several of the Tzar's working tools. Thousands of names are inscribed in every part of this once humble residence of Peter the Great.

The Tzar spent three months in Holland, and from thence passed into France; and at Paris great preparations were made to receive him with the honours due to

his rank by the Regent, the Duke d'Orleans. Coaches, with a company of guards, were sent to meet him, but Peter's rapid movements outstripped all their arrangements. It was intended to lodge him in the Louvre, but he despised all their splendour, and entered into Paris with four gentlemen only; and, instead of going to the royal palace, he retired to a private hotel in a remote part of the city. Peter's object was to avoid all the ceremonies of the French court; and, knowing nothing of their language, he took with him as interpreter his own ambassador, Prince Kourakin. On being waited upon at his hotel by the King's servants, his answer was, "I am a soldier; a little bread and beer satisfy me; I prefer small apartments to large ones; I have no desire to be attended with pomp and ceremony, nor to give trouble to so many people." The Tzarina he had left behind in Holland, fearing that her rustic manners would ill accord with the refinements of the French court.

On the following day he was visited by the Regent, and two days after by the young King, who was then only seven years of age; and the next day the Tzar returned the visit at the Tuileries, where the guards turned out to receive him, when he took the young Prince in his arms, embraced him, and said, "May your Majesty increase in happiness as in stature, and may your reign be long and prosperous; perhaps the time may come when we may stand in need of each other's assistance!" Peter lost no time in visiting the public institutions at Paris, in which he was indefatigable; he was treated every where with such honours and magnificence as quite overwhelmed his Majesty. On visiting the artists, whatever picture he admired he was pressed to

accept it in the king's name. Portraits of himself and of the Tzarina, with flattering inscriptions, were continually to be seen. He visited the Mint, where a gold medal was struck in his presence with his bust on one side, and on the reverse, "Petrus Alexiewitz, Tzar, Mag. Russ. Imperator," which was presented to him, and likewise one to each of his attendants; he visited the Academy of Sciences, and his name was enrolled amongst the members. A map was shown to him of Russia, as one of the curiosities of the Academy, when he instantly pointed out where it was full of errors. The learned men were astonished to see a prince, born in one of the most ignorant parts of the world, fond of the arts; and that he should exceed in that respect all the princes that had the advantage to be born in more polite countries. The rapidity with which Peter acquired knowledge, and the great tenacity with which he retained it, could only be exceeded by the promptitude with which he applied it; he visited the Gobelines, and the workshops of the King's sculptors. Whatever he admired of the works of the painters, goldsmiths, and mathematical-instrument makers, was respectfully offered him in the King's name; every moment was followed up with recreation, or with business. He drew up with the ministers a treaty of commerce, and regulated it afterwards at St. Petersburgh. He declined to enter into any of the gaieties of the French court, but did not hesitate to protest against their extravagance; and went so far as to say, that "he grieved for the young King, and believed that he was on the point of losing the kingdom through luxuries and superfluities." Peter maintained towards the young King and the Regent the manners of a strict court etiquette, and

every one bore testimony to the magnanimity of his nature.

The compliments which the Tzar received at Paris were so refined and so delicate, that had he been open to flattery it might have been fully gratified; for, dining one day at the Duke d'Autin's, the minister of arts, his portrait had been taken during dinner, and, to his great surprise, he found it hung up in the drawing-room on his returning there, as if by magic. He viewed the statue of Cardinal Richelieu, in the church of the Sorbonne, with great respect, when he exclaimed, "Great man! I would have given half my kingdom, to have learned of you how to govern the other half."

In this great capital nothing could escape the vigilance of so inquiring a traveller, so desirous was he to be informed of every thing worthy of notice. The Tzar's early hours very much astonished the French court; he always went to bed at nine o'clock, and rose at four. Not a moment was unemployed; and the avidity with which he examined every thing worthy of being seen, he showed by his large bright eyes and penetrating glance, how eagerly he coveted every sort of information. His motions were abrupt; his orders rapid and imperative; nor would he allow himself to be thwarted. He would occasionally give way to excessive intemperance—the unfortunate result of his early education and mode of life; but this did not affect his great mind, as eager to acquire knowledge as it was prompt to learn. The Tzar remained fourteen days at Paris, where he left splendid proofs of his royal bounty; and, on his return through France to Amsterdam, his journey was distinguished by the same insatiable love of inquiry which so much characterized him, and which seemed never to be satiated;

he turned every practical hint to account for the benefit of his empire. From Amsterdam, Peter travelled post to Berlin, leaving the Tzarina and her attendants to follow at their leisure.

At Berlin, which he entered at a late hour, he went to a private lodging, where the king sent his master of the ceremonies immediately to wait upon him, and the Tzar promised to visit the king next day at noon. Before that time arrived, splendid carriages were sent for him, but the Tzar was already there; he had walked by a private road to avoid the cortêge. "The meeting of the two sovereigns was such a spectacle as history seldom presents, since the great Frederic much resembled the great Peter in his tastes, habits, and pursuits; they both lived plainly—dressed like common soldiers—were uncorrupted by pomp and luxury; their lives showed a severity of discipline—they were both devoted to the good of their people; but, whilst they entertained a contempt for ostentatious display,"* they were obliged to conform in some measure to the fashions of the court at Berlin, where the queen presided, who thought it necessary to keep up a show of pomp and grandeur, to entertain her guests with the most costly parade.

When the Tzar arrived, the king expressed great astonishment and thanked him for his prompt visit; to which Peter replied, "I am not accustomed to such magnificence; I dislike parade, and always walk when I can; I frequently walk five times the distance I have come to-day." Two days after this the Tzarina arrived, with her whole retinue, and was conducted to a beautiful garden-house, belonging to the queen, named

* Voltaire.

"Mon Bijou." The reception of both their Majesties at the court of Berlin are curious and interesting, as given by an eye-witness, the Margrave de Bareith, although then very young. "The Tzar and the Tzarina, with all their attendants, came by water to 'Mon Bijou:' the king and queen received them on the shore: the Tzar, taking the king by the hand, said, 'I am overjoyed to see you, brother Frederic;' he then approached the queen to embrace her, but she looked as if she would rather be excused. They were attended," the writer says, "by a whole host of what were called ladies as part of their train, consisting chiefly of young German women, who performed the part of ladies'-maids, almost all of whom had a richly-clothed child in their arms. The queen," she says, "refused to salute these creatures. The Tzarina is short and lusty, remarkably coarse, without grace or animation; one need only see her to be satisfied of her low birth; her clothes looked as if bought at a doll-shop, every thing was so old-fashioned, and so bedizened with silver and tinsel; she was decorated with a dozen orders, portraits of saints, and relics, which occasioned such a clatter, that when she walked one supposed an ass with bells was approaching.

"The Tzar, on the contrary, was tall and well-made; his countenance is handsome, but there is something in it so rude that it inspires one with dread; he was dressed like a seaman, in a frock, without lace or ornament. At table, the Tzar was placed next to the Queen. It is well known," this lady says, "that the Tzar, in his youth, was once poisoned: the subtle poison fell upon his nerves, whence he is still subject to a kind of convulsive twitching, which he cannot

overcome; he had one of these at table, and, at the moment, he happened to have a knife in his hand, with which he made such strange gesticulations, and on the side next the Queen, that she became frightened and wished to leave the table, but the Tzar told her to make herself easy, assuring her he would do her no harm; once he caught her hand, and held it with such force that the Queen desired him to be more respectful. On this, he burst out into a fit of laughter, and said she was of a much more delicate frame than his Catherine." The lady then relates how the Tzar begged some statues and pieces of sculpture from the King, which he dared not refuse, and a cabinet, inlaid with amber, unique in its kind, and which cost Frederic I. a large sum of money. It was packed up and sent to St. Petersburgh with the rest, to the great regret of the whole court. The strangers departed on the third day, when the Queen betook herself immediately to "Mon Bijou;" and here, it is observed, she found the destruction of Jerusalem. "Never," says the writer, "did I see the like; every thing was so completely ruined that the Queen was obliged to renew every thing in the house." The deportment of the Tzarina at the palace did not fail to excite the sarcasms of the Prussian courtiers; the captive of Marienburgh exhibited a strong contrast to the ladies of Berlin.

It was at Amsterdam, it may be said, that Peter formed the idea of founding the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh; for here he purchased those magnificent works of art which formed its foundation, consisting of paintings by Reubens, Teniers, Wouverman, and others. He then remained but a short time in Holland, which was chiefly occupied in

examining and purchasing whatever appeared to him worthy of a place in his intended establishment for the arts. Peter had a firm conviction that the mere contemplation of the works of art would tend to advance his great work of reformation among his subjects more than any other means he could devise. He likewise founded the Museum of Natural History of the Academy of Sciences, a large stone building on the banks of the Neva, in which he gave the first audience to an ambassador from the court of Vienna. "Let him come to me," said the Tzar to his chancellor, who seemed to think that it would be a bad compliment to the ambassador to receive him in this building, to whom Peter replied—"It must be a matter of indifference to him in what place I first see him; it is to me, and not to one of my houses, that he is sent; whatever he has to communicate he may impart to me where I am," and the audience took place in the cabinet of natural history.

On his return to his dominions, after an absence of sixteen months, he found many pressing affairs waiting his arrival; amongst others, was the conduct of his son, Alexis, who was heir to the throne, and at this time twenty-nine years of age. His birth, by the Princess Eudoxia, has been already noticed, and since the time of her being repudiated by the Tzar, she had been condemned to the cloisters for life, and her son, who was for a time brought up by his mother, received from her those impressions of prejudice against his father with which she had so strongly imbued him. Peter seems to have taken very little notice of his eldest son; he appointed him governors, but they were chosen from amongst the members of his mother's family, who were all opposed to the Tzar in his reforms, and the young

Prince imbibed from them all those ancient prejudices of Russia which belonged to his ancestors, more particularly the clergy, from whom he received the first rudiments of education, who were constantly opposed to those improvements, which they deemed innovations of the Tzar, particularly since his second marriage, at which time the young Prince was removed from the influence of his mother and the priests.

Alexis was then placed under the care of the most distinguished foreigners in Russia; nor was his mind deficient in capacity, since he learned to speak and write the German language fluently, and had some talent for drawing; but his tastes were low. He fell into dissolute habits, and amongst his boon companions became, as it were, a passive conspirator against his father. He had never committed any positive act of rebellion, until, throwing himself upon the compassion of a foreign Prince, he allowed his name to be employed against the Tzar, which was equal to taking a personal share in the discontents against his government. Peter was aware of his son's ruinous courses, and adopted means to redeem him from them. He placed him at the head of the regency for a year, by way of experiment—he sent him to travel abroad, and married him to a Princess of Wolfenbuttle; but this marriage was most unfortunate for the poor princess. The death of his neglected and insulted wife, who had been a victim to his brutal conduct, more than any other thing grieved the Tzar. Alexis was at this time only twenty-one years of age, and of such gross and brutal manners, and so ill-treated his wife, that he sometimes denied her the common necessaries of life; she died under the weight of her

miseries, leaving a son, who, in the natural order of succession, would inherit the throne.

Peter wrote to Alexis on this melancholy event, reproaching him for his conduct, both with the feeling of the father, and the offended authority of the sovereign. From the reports he had heard of his son's vicious courses, and of his opposition to all his reforms, he was apprehensive that, after his death, his labours might be frustrated by the opposition of his own son. Peter, therefore, employed menace as well as remonstrance towards him, and told him that, if he did not amend his life, he would deprive him of the succession. "I would prefer," he added, "to transmit the Crown to a stranger who merited it, than to my own son, had he proved himself unworthy of the trust;" to this the Prince returned a brief reply—"I take God to witness," he said, "and I swear upon my soul, that I will never lay claim to the succession. I ask for nothing more than subsistence during my life;" to which the Tzar replied, that he did not want his consent to name the succession, and that his conduct for many years had caused him the greatest grief.

"If you despise the opinions of your father whilst he is living, what will you do after he is dead? You have no gratitude for him who gave you birth; have you assisted him in his labours since you came of age? I have cause to believe that, should you survive me, you will destroy all that I have done; amend yourself, render yourself worthy of the succession, or become a monk; reply either in writing or in person, or I will deal with you as with a criminal." The Prince, under a pretence of illness, replied to this letter only in a few words,

stating that he meant to embrace the monastic life, and entreating his Majesty's consent thereto. This seems to have satisfied the Tzar at the time, since he immediately set out on his journey to Holland and France; but, before he departed, he visited Alexis, who pretended to be in bad health. The Prince persevered in his intentions to embrace the monastic life; the Tzar said he would give him six months to re-consider his determination, and at the end of that time he would accept his final answer. On the same day that the Tzar left his capital, Alexis rose from his bed, and celebrated, with his boon companions, in a banquet, the departure of his father; and, before the day arrived that he was to abjure the world, acting under the advice of bad counsellors, he placed himself out of the power of his incensed father, and threw himself upon the protection of the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI., where he intended to remain until the death of the Tzar.

The Emperor was not willing to shelter him in his court, but did not hesitate to intercede with Peter for his disobedient son, and sent him to a fortress in the Tyrol, from whence Alexis, under an assumed name, removed to St. Elmo, a Neapolitan fortress. During these progresses, the Tzar was informed of his son's movements, which hastened his return, when he sent two commissioners to the Prince, with a letter dated from Spa, 10th July, 1717.—"I write to you that you may execute my will, which Tolstoi and Romanoff will announce to you; if you obey me, I assure you, and I promise before God that I will not punish you, but that, if you return, I will love you more than ever; if you do not, I will give you, in virtue of the powers that I have received from God, as your father, my eternal curse,

and, as your sovereign, I assure you that I shall have the means to punish you, in which I hope God will assist me, and take my just cause in hand." The promise of pardon was also made to the Emperor and the King of Naples by the Tzar, and they in consequence used their influence to induce Alexis to yield to his father's wishes, who was at length persuaded to return to Moscow, which he reached on the 13th February, 1718.

The Prince had an interview with his father on the morning of his arrival, when it was thought that the Tzar had pardoned him; but on the following day, some solemn preparations were made for bringing the Tzarovitch before his offended sovereign. The great bell of Moscow tolled, the guards were under arms, the nobles and counsellors were assembled at the palace, whilst the archimandrite and the principal clergy had repaired to the cathedral; the gates of Moscow were ordered to be closed, the city bore every appearance of being in a state of siege. The Tzar, surrounded by his courtiers, himself the most conspicuous from his noble height and stern demeanour, awaited the arrival of the culprit, who, the moment he saw his father, threw himself at his feet, imploring pardon for his crimes, and presented to him the following letter:—"Most clement Sovereign and father,—I have confessed my faults before you, my lord and father, and I now renew it by writing a confession of my crime, which I have already sent you from Naples. I confess again at present that I have offended the duties of a son and a subject, in placing myself under the protection of the Emperor, and demanding his succour. I implore my pardon, and the clemency of your Majesty, the very submissive and unworthy slave, who is not worthy of being called your son—ALEXIS."

The Tzar replied, that he pardoned him, but that in consequence of his crimes he had rendered himself unworthy of the succession to the crown; he reproached him for placing himself under the protection of the Emperor of Germany, and for declaring to him that his life was not safe if he returned to Russia; likewise for his indolence and neglect of his studies—for associating with partisans of the ancient manners—for his conduct to his wife, and his conjugal infidelity, in forming a connection with a low-born woman during her lifetime. He then alluded to his bad designs against his father, of whom he had shown himself the enemy. The Tzar, at great length, went on detailing the care which had been taken in his education, of which he said, "But all our care has been fruitless, and, like the seed of the doctrine, fallen upon a rock:" nevertheless, (the Tzar added), from his paternal clemency, he would pardon him his crime, and exempt him from all punishment; but, on account of his incapacity and of his bad conduct, he could not conscientiously leave him the succession to the throne, lest he should destroy the glory of the nation, and "lose all the provinces we have recovered by our arms, and place our subjects, under such a successor, in a worse state than they had ever been before. According to the laws of our empire, every father may disinherit his son; in virtue of our paternal power, and in virtue of our prerogative of Sovereign Prince, and in consideration of the good of our country, we deprive our son, Alexis, of the succession after us to our throne of Russia, because of his crimes and of his unworthiness, even though there should not exist after us a single person of our family. And we constitute and declare our second son, Peter, to be our successor to the said

throne (although he is yet young), there being no successor of a more advanced age." An instrument was then produced for the Prince to sign, renouncing the succession to the throne, to the following effect:—"I, the underwritten, promise upon the Holy Gospel, that as I am (through the crimes which I have committed against his Tzarian Majesty, my lord and father) excluded by my own fault from the succession to the throne of Russia, as is set forth in an instrument for that purpose: so I acknowledge that exclusion to be just, having deserved the same by my faults and iniquities; and I oblige myself, and swear before the Almighty God, as the Sovereign Judge, to submit in every thing to the will of my father, never to sue for his succession, pretend, or desire the same, nor to accept it on any pretence whatever; and I acknowledge my brother, the Tzarovitch Peter Petrovitz, for his lawful successor: in testimony whereof I kiss the holy cross, and subscribe these presents with my own hand."

The Prince signed the instrument, and the nobles and ministers present subscribed an oath that they had acknowledged the legality of his Majesty's decree, which had approved his second son, Peter Petrovitz, to be the undoubted successor to his crown. The Tzar, with the unfortunate Alexis, then went to the cathedral, where the declaration of the Sovereign was read before the assembled clergy, who took the oath; and it was subsequently administered to the army and navy, and to every subject of the Russian empire—setting forth the renunciation, and acknowledging the succession to the throne as established by the Tzar. It might have been expected that the Prince, having thus expiated his crimes, would have been set at liberty, particularly since

his father had promised that if he would return he would pardon him, and love him better than ever. So far from this being the case, he was conducted to a prison, and kept in close confinement, no one being allowed to have access to him except by strict orders from the Tzar, who now obliged him to swear upon the Holy Evangelists that he would reveal all the circumstances of his flight, who were his counsellors, and by whose advice he had made his escape into Germany. The means thus employed, and the terrors to which Alexis was exposed by the ordeal of this inquiry, with the prospect of death before him, and the dreadful solitude in which he was incarcerated, his timid and shallow mind could not be expected to produce results favourable to justice. He would sometimes attest the correctness of statements which he knew to be false, when he found they would be agreeable to the Tzar, since it implicated individuals who were obnoxious to him. Alexis was even led to impeach himself, by admitting that, at a time when some insurrections threatened the government of the Tzar, "had the rebels invited him, and had they been strong enough, he should probably have joined them against his father." But a more serious charge was, that he had written from Vienna to the senators and archbishops of Russia a letter, which was found, in his own handwriting, to the following effect:—"The continued bad treatment which I have undeservedly suffered, obliged me to fly; I narrowly escaped being shut up in a convent—they who confined my mother would have treated me the same way. I am under the protection of a great prince. I pray of you not to abandon me at present."

This letter never reached its destination; but was intercepted by the court of Vienna, which was unwilling

to embroil itself with that of Russia, and still more reluctant to countenance the revolt of the son against the father. Witnesses were then brought forward against the Prince, one of whom swore that he heard him declare on one occasion, "I will say something to the bishops, they will repeat it to the priests, and the priests to their parishioners, and I shall be placed upon the throne, even if it be against my will." Other charges were made; but they could not prove any conspiracy against the Sovereign. A priest was put to the torture, to make him reveal what Alexis had said to him in confession, when he stated, that "he had wished for the death of his father;" but this was all that could be extracted from the confessor, whose testimony could not be received in any court of justice, since the Greek church holds sacred the secrets of the confessional. But Peter broke down all obstacles to obtain evidence against his son, who was confounded under the solemn form of the inquiry, which was made the groundwork of his impeachment.

Whilst it was going on, Peter ordered that Eudoxia, his first wife, whom he had repudiated, and who had taken refuge in the monastery of Souzdal, under the name of Helen, and her sister Maria, living in the same convent, both of them having knowledge of the flight of Alexis, should be brought to Moscow, with their confessor, the archbishop of Restof, and some other witnesses. He likewise ordered to be conducted there, those who had been mixed up with the affairs of the Tzarovitch. All the roads were guarded, so that no one could go out of the city; and orders were given, under the penalty of death, that no one should quit it without permission. The Tzarina, Eudoxia, had written a letter

to her husband, very touching, from the convent, imploring him to spare her from an ignominious death. She underwent severe interrogatories from the clergy on her licentious life in the convent, for which she was banished to another convent on the lake Ladoga, where she was shut up for life after receiving a severe flagellation. Thus did the great Peter punish the crimes of his former wife. Justice found in him a most inflexible judge. The Princess Maria was likewise sent to a convent; and Gleboff, the Tzarina's paramour, was impaled alive! The corpse was elevated on a scaffold in the centre of the great square of the city; and at the corners were exhibited the heads of two bishops, the Tzarina's brothers, which were displayed on the tops of poles. At the same time, the heads of numerous conspirators, companions of the Tzarovitch, were elevated; amongst whom were fifty monks and priests surrounding the scaffold in a circle on the trunks of trees. These executions took place at Moscow on the 15th March, 1718.

It has been said that the Tzar instituted these proceedings to secure the succession of the throne to his youngest son; but, by the law and customs of Russia, the Sovereign had the right to name the succession according to his own despotic will. Peter, therefore, wanted no excuse for setting aside Alexis, except, it may be, that he would prove to the world the justice of his excluding him from the sovereignty. On being complimented at having extinguished such growing troubles, his Majesty replied, "When the fire encounters the straw it will burn; but when iron is applied to it, it must be extinguished." Whilst these dreadful butcheries were going forward, Alexis was trembling with

horror in his prison; and his reason forsook him, since he had been the means of these horrible barbarities of the Tzar on his own confidential friends, against whom nothing had been proved against his government. When these deeds of blood had been accomplished at Moscow, Peter returned to St. Petersburgh. It was thought that the Tzar's wrath had been appeased, and that the trial of Alexis had terminated; but not so. A commission was immediately formed of the principal officers of the government, both civil and military; witnesses were again examined, and Peter himself interrogated his Son as to the conversations which he had had with Count Schenbron, the Emperor's minister, in Germany.

He replied, "That the Emperor would not forsake him; and that, when the proper season arrived after the death of his father, he would assist him with an armed force to ascend the throne;" to which Alexis added, "I would have supported at my own expense the auxiliary troops with which he might have assisted me to put me in possession of the crown of Russia; and, in a word, nothing should have prevented me from accomplishing my object." He further added, that, "wishing to imitate my father in nothing, I sought to obtain the succession by every means except good conduct. I was willing to secure it by foreign assistance; and if I had succeeded, and the Emperor had put into execution the promise he made me, that he would procure me the crown of Russia even by force of arms, I would have spared myself nothing to secure the succession."

This seems to have been the most serious admission on the part of Alexis, of combining against his father's government; but the promise of the Emperor was only contingent, and nothing more than the existing relations

between the two empires warranted, *as at that time* Alexis had not abandoned the succession. Many other questions were put to him, and answers extracted, when his judgment was paralyzed by fear, and his memory forsook him; he seemed as though he was weary of life, and would make almost any admission to bring it to a termination.

One of the witnesses deposed against him, that Alexis, on hearing of some revolt having taken place, said, "I hope to God that it will not terminate as my father wishes it;" he further said, "that, had he been called to aid the rebels, he should have perhaps consented had he found them strong enough, but that he had no design to go to them if not invited." This was deemed the greatest crime brought against Alexis, although by witnesses quite unworthy of credit. The Tzarovitch was now standing before his father, amidst a solemn assembly of the nobles and senators of the empire, arraigned as a criminal; his lofty stature bent by illness and despair—his powerful voice so reduced that it could scarcely be recognised by his friends—and his whole appearance so degraded, that no one could see in him the once wild and profligate Alexis; whilst in stern severity stood the Tzar, Peter, denouncing his son to the assembly with the expression of wrath and judicial rigour, affording a strong contrast to the culprit whom he was arraigning at the bar of his power. He made a long speech before the tribunal, recapitulating the life and the crimes of his son; that by all laws, human and divine, and particularly by those of Russia, fathers had unlimited power over their children in pronouncing sentence upon them for the crimes which they had committed, yet, he would appeal to the assembly to decide,

without favour or partiality, on the case brought before them. That although he had solemnly promised to pardon his son if he would declare the whole truth, yet this promise was cancelled, seeing that he had withholden the most important circumstances of his revolutionary designs. He appealed to them what punishment he deserved, saying, that they should not be influenced by the reflection that they were passing sentence on the son of their Sovereign, but administer justice fearlessly, without respect of persons, and not to peril their own souls by doing any thing which may be calculated to injure the country, or upbraid their conscience in the terrible day of judgment, adding, that under the fear of God, and the dread of offending against his will, he had brought the case before them.

The Tzar, likewise, transmitted a manifesto to the clergy, requiring their judgment on his rebellious son, Alexis, concluding with the following words, "As propounders of the word of God, I require you to examine it, and to give us your opinion in writing under your hands, as to the punishment our son deserves, that being rightly informed thereon, we may not lay any burden on our conscience. We, therefore, repose implicit confidence in you, that, as guardians of the divine law, as faithful pastors of the Christian flock, and as promoters of your country's good, you will act with dignity suited to your station, and we conjure you by that dignity, and the holiness of the functions you discharge, to proceed without fear or dissimulation." The clergy soon delivered their opinion; they first acknowledged that the affair did not come within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that the absolute power of the Sovereign was not subject to the cognizance of his people, then they quoted

several texts of Scripture; amongst others, "Cursed be he who curseth father or mother:" they referred to the history of Absalom in rebellion against his father, and to the example of the Saviour, who submitted to his father, likewise to the precept, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," concluding in the following terms:—"If our merciful Sovereign would punish the culprit according to his crimes, he had before him the examples which we have quoted from the Old Testament; if by his clemency he would pardon him, he has the example of our Saviour himself, who received the prodigal on his repentance, and who condemned not the woman taken in adultery, although she ought to have been stoned. He has also the example of David, who said—'Spare my son Absalom;' but the justice of God overtook him whom the father wished to pardon. In short, the heart of the prince is in God's hands, let him do what seemeth to him best."

This paper was signed by eight archbishops and bishops, three archimandrites, and two doctors, and was considered favourable to clemency, but so equivocal was it by the examples quoted from Scripture on both sides, that it could in no wise influence the sovereign; the clergy were reduced to such a state of servility as to seek only to coincide with the royal will, and it was pretty well known that the Tzar's mind was already made up on the subject. On the same day the Tzarovitch was again examined, and for the last time, Count Tolstoi was his interrogator—"Why he had not been willing to imitate his father, and to obey him; why he had lived in indolence, not fearing any punishment; why he had sought after the succession by any other way than obedience and duty to his father?" To these

questions Alexis replied, with the simplicity of a child, that he knew disobedience was a sin, but that it had been inoculated upon him from his childhood; that he had been brought up in idleness amongst priests and monks; that he had learned of them the vice of drinking and other bad habits; that they had estranged him from all occupations becoming a prince; that being sent by his father into foreign countries, he had profited but little by it, nor had corrected his former depraved character; that he had a personal dislike to his father, and an aversion to the duties of his station; and that he had endeavoured to secure his succession to the throne by any means except such as were just. To which effect he signed a paper, which may be deemed his last dying speech and confession; for, on the 5th July, the senators and judges then assembled in council, unanimously condemned the Prince Alexis to death by a very long sentence, in which they say:—"In the year 1718, on the 24th June, by an express order from his Tzarian Majesty, signed with his own hand, We, the undersigned ministers, senators, civil and military, although according to the law of Russia, which, as subjects of his Tzarian Majesty, it does not belong to us to do that which depends entirely on the unlimited will of his Majesty, whose power comes from God alone, and which has no bounds, and which consequently ought alone to pronounce this judgment; yet, in conformity with the sublime orders of his Tzarian Majesty, our supreme lord, after a close examination on our Christian conscience, without fear, without compulsion, without exception of any one, having before us the law of God, we have concluded and arrived at it unanimously, and without contradiction, that the Tzarovitch, Alexis, for the attempt and the

crime committed by him against his father and his Sovereign, is worthy of death."

This sentence was signed by ninety-nine military officers of different ranks, and thirty-five ministers of the civil state. The article, which is very long, points out the flagitious conduct of the prince, of the clemency of the Tzar towards him, of which he had shown himself so unworthy, likewise of his own confession of his crimes, in wishing for the death of his father, for all these causes he had rendered himself worthy of death, concluding in the following terms:—"And although as slaves and subjects we pronounce this sentence in all the grief of our hearts, and with tears in our eyes, considering that it does not become us, to whom is committed the sovereign power of giving such a judgment, and that too on the son of our clement sovereign; nevertheless, since it is his will that we should judge him, we hereby declare our just opinion and our judgment, with all that purity and that Christian conscience with which we have to appear on the judgment day, before our terrible and all-powerful God, besides which, we submit our decision to the will and unlimited power of his Tzarian Majesty, our very clement sovereign."

Alexis was brought out of the fortress into the court, under guard, when he was obliged to repeat the confession of his crimes, and to hear the sentence of death read to him, signed by the judges, after which he was sent back into custody. The next morning news was brought to the Tzar, that the violent passions of the mind of Alexis, and the terrors of death, had thrown the Tzarovitch into apoplectic fits. The Tzar went to see his dying son, who, at the sight of his father, burst into tears, with his hands folded, and said that "he had

grievously lamented having offended the majesty of God Almighty and of the Tzar; that he hoped not to recover of his indisposition—even if he should, that he was unworthy of life; he therefore begged of his Majesty, for God's sake, only to take from him the curse which had been laid upon him, to forgive him all his crimes, and to impart to him his paternal blessing, and to cause prayers to be put up for his soul."

During these moving words, the Tzar and the whole company almost melted into tears; his father returned a father's answer to the prince, and then gave him his forgiveness and blessing, after which they parted with an abundance of tears and lamentations on both sides. In the evening, a messenger arrived to inform the Tzar that his son was dangerously ill, and urgently desiring to see him, but whilst he was on the way, word was brought him that Alexis was dead! "On the 28th of June, the body was brought in a coffin from the fortress to the Trinity Church, covered with velvet, and a rich pall of cloth of gold thrown over it, conducted by the vice-chancellor and some other persons of distinction, when the people went to kiss the hand of the prince. On the 30th, it was transported from this church to that in the fortress, and then interred by the side of his wife. The Tzar and all his court attended the funeral, when, it is said, he was much affected."

Such are the scanty details of the death of Alexis, published by order of the court; but it was generally believed throughout Europe that he met with a violent death. Some authors go so far as to say that he was poisoned. It was easy to foresee, that the trial instituted against him must terminate tragically, since Peter would have gained nothing by his being condemned to die had he

been permitted to live; and this sentence could not have prevented his succeeding his father, who, fearing that he might overthrow all his great reforms, and render the labours of his long life useless, had determined that Alexis should die. Such are the speculations which the Russian historians indulge in, but they can come to no certain conclusions. It is notorious that the Tzar was extremely tenacious of any thing being said on the subject; and that both the German and Dutch ministers were forbid from the court, for having spoken too freely respecting the death of the Prince; and that they were soon recalled by their respective governments.

In order to counteract these reports, and to justify his conduct to Europe, the Tzar caused the whole of the trial to be printed and circulated, thereby submitting himself to the judgment of the world, in which he says, "While we were debating between the natural feelings of paternal clemency, and the duties we owed to the security of our kingdom; and while we were pondering on what resolution we ought to take in an affair of such difficulty and importance, it pleased the Almighty God, by his special will, and his just judgment, and by his mercy, to deliver us out of that embarrassment, and to save our family and kingdom from the shame and the dangers, by abridging, yesterday, the life of our son, Alexis, after an illness with which he was seized as soon as he heard the sentence of death pronounced against him. The illness appeared like an apoplexy; but he afterwards recovered his senses, and received the holy Sacrament as a Christian; and, having desired to see us, we went to him immediately, with all our councillors and senators; and then he acknowledged, and sincerely confessed, all his said faults and crimes committed against

us, with tears, and all the marks of a true penitent, and begged our pardon, which, according to Christian and paternal duty, we gave him; after which, on the 7th. July, at six in the evening, he resigned his soul to God."

There are so many reports respecting this tragedy, implicating the Tzar's criminality, that we shall only allude to one of them—that of Captain Bruce, an English officer about the Tzar's person, and who stood so high in the esteem of the Sovereign, that he appointed him to be instructor to the son of the unfortunate Alexis, respecting whose death he published a statement, which casts upon the Tzar the imputation of a monstrous crime. Bruce was at St. Petersburgh at the time of the Prince's death, and goes so far as to say, that he was *actually poisoned;* and that "he was commanded by Marshal Wrede to go to Beur, the druggist, with orders to make the potion very strong;" but when, or by whom administered, he does not venture to say. This statement was partly confirmed by a French historian, Le Clerc, who was at St. Petersburgh at the time; and it seems most extraordinary that such statements have never been contradicted nor disproved. Bruce adds, "Very few believe that the Prince died a natural death; but it was dangerous for people to speak as they thought."

It is well known that Peter was a man of violent and ungovernable passions; his hatred was deep and lasting, nor would he hesitate at any punishment on those who had offended him. He would sacrifice private and personal feelings to the great object of his life, the renovation of his empire; and it is a question with some of his historians, that if his son stood in the way of this great object, that he would not hesitate to sacrifice his pater-

nity to his patriotism. Peter went to the senate, and approved of the sentence which they had passed upon Alexis, and said that "any man more false or ungrateful could not be imagined." He gloried in his excessive severities, which he said were for the good of the nation. There was one other report, too monstrous for the most credulous belief, that "Alexis had been beheaded by order of his father; and that Marshal Wrede had been the executioner."

This tends much to prove that the Tzar had no share whatever in his son's death, and that the story of the poisoning is no more entitled to belief than that of the beheading. The story of Alexis having been poisoned by order of his father, Voltaire wholly discredits, when he says, "Could a prudent person, a monarch who had attracted the eyes of all the world, bring himself basely to poison one whom he had the right to cut off with the sword of justice? Would he suffer his name to be transmitted to posterity in such heinous colours, when he might so easily have brought himself off only as a rigorous judge? It was a question between eighteen millions of people and one single person—never was prince disinherited in so authentic a manner." Of the Tzar's painful position, he says—"Thus we see at what a dear rate Peter the Great purchased the happiness which he procured to his people—how many public and private impediments he had to surmount in the midst of a long and difficult war, with enemies abroad, rebels at home, half his family plotting against him, the majority of the people obstinately declaring against his reforms, almost the whole nation for a long time execrating its own happiness (of which it had not then a proper sense), prejudices to overcome, discontents to

allay, until at length a new generation, formed by his care, should clothe themselves with that glory and prosperity which their fathers could not boast of."

It is certain that the Tzar was placed in a most painful and critical situation. He knew that Alexis, had he succeeded to his throne, would have upset, as far as possible, all his reforms, and driven the Russians back again to barbarism. He had likewise reason to expect a civil war, now that he had settled the succession on his second son, which would ruin the vast fabric of Russian improvements, which he had spent a laborious life to create; and, devoted to his country, for her welfare, possibly, his son must be the sacrifice: this is veiled in impenetrable mystery. But it might have been expected that Peter would rest satisfied with the death of Alexis; so far from it, he punished many more of his friends and confederates, particularly those who had approved of his flight into Germany; four of them were condemned to be broken on the wheel, five were beheaded, and others received the knout. Thus did he carry his vengeance even beyond the tomb. Let us draw the veil of charity over the memory of the great Peter, by supposing him to have been incapable of sacrificing his son to his patriotism; certain it is, that no compunction seems to have visited him—that general touchstone of crime; but that, on the contrary, he rather rejoiced at being disembarrassed from this let and hindrance to his national improvements.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tzar's great Activity—Progress of the new Capital—Improvements in Police—Manufactures—Weights and Measures—Medical Science &c.—Pageant to the Convent of St. Alexander Nevski—Depositing the Saint's Relics—Splendour of his Sarcophagus—Enriched by successive Sovereigns—Present Ceremony to the Saint's Tomb—the Tzar's Foreign Policy—inclined to Peace with Sweden—Death of Charles XII.—Hostilities renewed with Sweden—Successes of the Russian Fleet—Peace with Sweden—Proud Position of the Tzar—Death of his Second Son—Peter's profound Affliction at his Loss—Public Thanksgiving for the Peace with Sweden—a General Amnesty proclaimed—Public Rejoicings at St. Petersburgh—Address of the Senate to the Sovereign—they confer upon him the title of Peter the Great, Emperor, and Autocrat of all the Russias—the Emperor's Reply—Grand Fêtes in the Capital—Address of the Nobles and Clergy of Moscow—a long Carnival in the ancient Muscovite Capital—Religious Ceremony of blessing the Waters of the Neva—the Emperor's Titles acknowledged by the Sovereigns of Europe—frames a Code of Laws—attempts Domestic Reforms amongst his Subjects—Peter's Occasional Excesses—Occupied with the important Affair of the Succession—Oaths imposed on his Subjects—the Emperor's Designs of Foreign Conquests—resolves to March into Persia—insulted by the Affghans—invited by Hoosein Shah—Preparations for the Expedition—Departure of their Majesties to join the Army—Sufferings of the Troops—the Emperor marching at their head—Arrival at Derbent—occupied by the Russians—the Expedition abandoned—the Emperor's Return to Moscow—Arrival of the Persian Ambassador at St. Petersburgh—his Magnificent Speech—Progress of the New Capital—Coronation of Catherine—the Emperor's Manifesto—Splendid Ceremony—Declining Health of the Emperor—his Alarming Illness—undergoes an Operation—Partial Recovery—Imprudent Conduct—his Relapse—Dying Bed—his Death and Epitaph.

THE indefatigable Tzar, Peter, even during his domestic troubles, lost no time in the rapid progress and

improvements of his new capital, which was now lighted with lamps, copied from the city of Paris. A large police force was established, under the control of a lieutenant-general, at St. Petersburgh; a board of trade was likewise established, directed partly by foreigners and partly by natives, to facilitate that immense increase of commerce, which accrued by the intercourse opened with foreign nations, and by the canals which were cut to join distant rivers and seas, in order to bring the produce of the interior of Russia into the capital. Hospitals were endowed and filled, whereby mendicity was suppressed. Weights and measures were introduced on a uniform scale, to facilitate the trade of the interior; these media had been before in a state of most imperfect uncertainty. The manufactures were increased by the accession of numerous artisans from Europe, who were encouraged by bounties to come into the country; so that at length the first silk was spun on the banks of the lake Ladoga, equal to those of China or of Persia.

The city of Ladoga was built, and a canal cut from the lake to communicate with the Neva; these were some of the improvements which the great Peter effected in his dominions, and, in order that they might reach to the boundaries of the empire, he sent engineers to make the tour of its limits, that the world might have laid before them a chart of his vast dominions. Medical science was at this time at a very low ebb in Russia; for though foreign physicians were individually maintained at the court of the Tzar, yet public medical institutions were unknown in the empire. Peter first invited into it expert physicians and surgeons; he erected hospitals, and endowed a medical chancery or faculty, which

had the supervision of the whole state of medicine, committing to it the care of its foundation and enlargement. The Tzar's favourite physician was Blumentrist, of German origin, born at Moscow, who afterwards, as president of the Academy of Sciences, was also director of the Medical Faculty; besides him, Peter had another physician, Dr. Erskine of Scotland. Nor did the Tzar omit to flatter his subjects with occasional pageants, which were conducted with much magnificence. He ordered the convent of St. Alexander Nevski to be built, in order to deposit there the remains of the great hero of Russia. It was finished in the year 1725, when the relics of the saint, which had been formerly deposited at Volodomir, were transported to the convent with much pomp, accompanied by the first personages of the empire, both civil, military, and ecclesiastical. They were conducted by land to Novogorod, where they were put on board a magnificent yacht, prepared purposely to receive them.

The Tzar himself took the helm, the imperial standard floating over it, and the relics were received by the regiments of the guards lining the way, and the priests in their pontifical robes, amidst the salvoes of artillery, the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of joy. Peter led the way, followed by the dignitaries of the state, with the Empress, the Princesses, and other members of the imperial family, and deposited the relics on the altar with his own hands; they were then enclosed in a silver sarcophagus, richly ornamented, the bas-relief worked with the history of the saint in the principal actions of his life, with this inscription in Russ—"The body of this brave and pious Prince rests in this urn, but his soul is in heaven, and in this city, formerly the

theatre of his glory, and where he now invisibly aids Peter, his illustrious descendant."

The Empress Elizabeth erected a monument of silver to the memory of the saint, and 3,600 lbs. of that metal were employed in its construction. It forms a pyramid with triumphant trophies and military emblazonments. During some of the high church festivals it is lighted by a lamp of gold, presented by the Empress Catherine II. in 1791. The drapery which covers the sarcophagus is not less remarkable for its riches than for the superiority of the workmanship. On it is painted the image of the saint on satin, decorated with the cordon of the Order, instituted to his honour by Peter I. in 1725; the star is in brilliants and oriental pearls. Nothing more truly demonstrates the riches and the piety of the Russians, than the treasures which are sometimes to be found in the sacristies of their convents and churches; those of the Nevski, perhaps, present greater riches than any other, where the sacred robes are ornamented with brilliants and pearls too dazzling almost to behold.* Here

* The author was very much pleased with his visit to this celebrated monastery and necropolis; the latter may be called the "Père la Chaise" of Russia.

There is a fashion amongst their descendants even in interring their dead, and the cemetery is crowded with works of art, some of them of the first order, to their memory, every one of which are of the finest material, from gold to Carrara marble, with brief inscriptions. The monument to the memory of the Countess Potemkin is of most exquisite workmanship, being snatched, at an early age, from three lovely babes; prophetically conscious of her fate, she is looking up with calm resignation to the figures of religion, and rests with confidence her hand on the symbol of Christianity; in front are the inscriptions, and the arms in solid gold. Then, to the memory of the warrior, a monument is erected, "Melarovaditch," commonly called the "Murat of Russia," for his bravery, who, after a long and glorious career, in which he had been exposed to more than forty general engagements, without even receiving the slightest

is preserved the crown of Alexander Nevski, which has much the form of an archbishop's mitre; the sides of it are ornamented with white ermine, whilst the cap is of puce velvet. Every year, on the 30th of August, the anniversary of this ceremony is kept as a *jour de fête*. A platform is laid down from the cathedral "Notre Dame de Casan" to the Nevski monastery, covered with red

contusion, on the 14th December, 1825, during the military insurrection at St. Petersburgh, was shot by one of his own soldiers, whom he had so often led to victory.

A short inscription tells the catastrophy which terminated his mortal career—"Mort d'une plaie reçu sur la place d'Isaac par un boulet et un bayonette." The relatives of a rich merchant, Kutosoff, have erected a monument to his memory, when he had nothing but wealth to commemorate, which cost sixty thousand rubles, and the purchase of the ground alone was as much as a thousand pounds sterling. The survivors of the proprietor of copper mines raised a monument of solid copper to his memory, in which are two allegorical figures of the size of life, of the same metal, chiseled out, but not cast, besides a marble bust of the deceased. There is likewise the monument of Suwarrow in bronze, richly ornamented with military trophies. After enumerating his birth and time of decease, a laconic inscription, said to have been written by himself, follows—"The memory of Suwarrow exists in the heart of every Russian. His titles are his immortal services, and the glory with which he covered his country." A magnificent marble arch was over the bust of the Prince Alexander Viasmesky, with a short but pithy inscription—"The defender of the oppressed, and the friend of the unfortunate." In the form of an Egyptian sarcophagus, in granite, are the remains of one of the great admirals of Russia, Tchitchagoff; and an obelisk of granite is raised to that of Admiral Chanikoff, of some distinction. But the most curious piece of workmanship is that of mother-of-pearl, consisting of a large plate of that substance, divided into twelve compartments, in which are engraved, with minute accuracy, in a space of about three inches square, the figure and the name of each saint for every day in the year of the Russian calendar. The circle represents the abode of the eternal, with the Saviour and all the saints congregated round the triumphant Cross.

A white marble column marks the tomb of Lomanissof, a celebrated Russian poet. This was erected by Count Michael Woronzew, but his

cloth. The Emperor and the Imperial family, after divine service, march to the monastery to honour the relics of the saint, accompanied by the dignitaries of the empire, and the ecclesiastics, in grand procession.

The political activity of the Tzar, with respect to his foreign affairs, did not languish. The war with Sweden was still carried on; he kept a fleet at sea which cap-

countrymen propose to erect a monument by voluntary subscription, to the amount of 50,000 rubles.

It is impossible to enumerate a tithe of the beautiful monuments of this celebrated necropolis; but to return to the monastery. On the right stands the palace of the Archbishop of Kasan, and on the left the churches of the Holy Trinity, of St. John, and St. Chrysostom, besides a seminary for the education of young ecclesiastics; but the principal object of attraction is in the second of these churches, in the chapel of which the relics of the saint are deposited. The sarcophagus, already described, is ornamented with splendid draperies, not less remarkable for their riches than for their superiority of workmanship. The image of the saint is painted on satin, with a cordon of the order which Peter the Great instituted to his honour in 1725; the star is formed of brilliants and pearls.

In the right choir are portraits of Peter and of Catherine II. The church is ornamented with heavy silver lustres, the centre one containing five hundred pounds of that metal. The first produce of the silver mines of Kolyvan were presented by the Empress Elizabeth to this church; here the quantity used has been enormous. The altar of the chapel is of that metal, rising thirty feet high, and groups of military figures, of the same material, are dispersed by the side of the shrine, of which it was said that four thousand pounds' weight was employed in the construction. The holy door, called the "Ikonastas," is of richly-gilt bronze, surrounded by a dazzling "aurelia," composed of different coloured metals, so as to give a most resplendent effect; the altar is of Carrara marble, and hung round with the most beautiful paintings of Rubens, Vandyke, and Raphael. Both wealth and art seem to have been almost exhausted in pouring their treasures over the relics of the departed saint.

In the sacristy are the sacred vestments, the vases, the chalices, &c. Amongst its treasures are the crown of the saint, and the baton of Peter the Great, with the small bed on which he expired; here is also a

tured the Swedish ships, and committed depredations on their coast. The affairs of Europe became embroiled; Charles was embarking in an expedition against Norway, and Peter promised Goertz that he would not disturb his master in the expedition. Charles had some other wild schemes; amongst them, was making a descent upon Great Britain with 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse, a sufficient train of artillery, and arms for 10,000 or 12,000 more, to place the Pretender on the throne, as he had formerly done another monarch on that of Poland, from some imaginary insult he had received upon King William's refusal to assist him out of his difficulties. But this plot was discovered by intercepted letters of Goertz in Holland. To effect his grand designs, it was necessary for Charles to conciliate the Tzar, and it was thought that Peter was by no means disinclined to assist

vestment of the saint himself, enriched with exquisite work and with rare antiquities, and ornamented with pearls, which was presented by Catherine II. A copy of the Scriptures is also magnificently adorned, and here are some patriarchal crosses; amongst others, that given by Peter the Great himself to the archimandrite of Russia.

That sort of solemn silence which pervades the last abodes of perishing man, was here very imposing; although so little removed from the bustling world, yet not a whisper of it seemed to reach the place. I was for a long time incredulous that it contained any living tenants, until by chance one of the monks showed himself. The monastery contains about sixty of these ascetics, each having his separate cell, and meeting together at the church. The rules of their order were prescribed by Peter the Great, which they still observe; the archbishop, who has his palace here, is also styled the archimandrite of St. Alexander Nevski; the library is said to contain about 7,000 *volumes* of valuable theological works, and many manuscripts. Besides the buildings already enumerated, there are others within the walls, which serve as residences for the many persons employed, so that it has the appearance of a small town. The revenues of the monastery are about 20,000 rubles annually, partly derived from the crown, partly from imposts laid on for the purpose.—AUTHOR.

him in it, although he had as yet given them no outward encouragement. But Peter was now desirous of a peace with Sweden; the war, which was carried on without object, began to languish, the two countries were fast approaching to a peace. Peter returned to St. Petersburgh from Moscow on the 15th September, when he found the Tzarina delivered of a daughter, the Princess Natalia.

The King of Sweden's days were now numbered. He set out on his expedition against Norway, and on the 30th November he arrived at Frederickshall, and at nine in the evening, whilst walking round the trenches, where he was exposed to a battery of cannon, having laid his head on the parapet, a ball of a half-pound weight struck him on the right temple, and made a large hole in it, with the left eye beaten in, and the right out of the socket; thus terminated the life, at thirty-six years of age only, of this redoubtable Sovereign, whose intrepidity and presence of mind in all dangers made him perform such exploits as constituted him the hero of the age, and of whom it is said, "patience of labour, temperance in living," (since he never drank any thing but water from the springs,) "modesty in success, and liberality to his friends, were virtues which he possessed in the highest degree, but his rashness and obstinacy were failings that cost his own country so much more than his enemies." Peter, it is reported, burst into tears when hearing of his death, exclaiming, "My dear Charles, how much I lament you!" This completely changed not only the affairs of Sweden, but the Tzar's relations with that country. The crown was transferred to the late King's sister, Ulrica Eleonora, and Goertz was beheaded at Stockholm.

Sweden, instead of uniting her forces with the Tzar against England, was glad to unite her forces against the Tzar, who kept a fleet at sea of twelve sail of the line, several frigates and large galleys, of which he was second in command only to Admiral Apraxin; this fleet ravaged the Swedish coast, destroying villages, hamlets, and castles, spreading ruin and desolation wherever they appeared. At this time a British fleet, under Sir John Norris, made its appearance in the Baltic for the protection of Sweden, but the Tzar determined to keep the sea; and on questioning the British admiral whether he came merely as a friend to Sweden, or an enemy to Russia, his answer was, that he had no orders to act for or against either power. The devastations which the Russian fleet had committed on the Swedish coast induced Sweden to ask for a suspension of arms, and, through the mediation of France, a Congress was held at Neustadt in Finland, and negotiations were opened, when the Tzar dictated a peace, by which were ceded to him for ever all his conquests, thus acknowledging him to be Sovereign over Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, Wyburg, and the adjacent islands to the extremity of the Gulf of Finland: this peace was concluded in September 1721, at Neustadt.

Such were the great accessions to Russia, after the exhaustion and fatigues of a twenty years' war, which was now happily brought to a conclusion, much to the relief and satisfaction of the great regenerator of Russia, who, having no further cause to apprehend hostilities from any quarter, had time to attend to the internal improvements of his vast empire. Although this war had cost him an immense sum of money, yet Peter had incurred no debt; and he found himself, after such a waste

of human life, with a formidable fleet, a disciplined and well-organized army, with generals and admirals both skilful and courageous, and in quiet possession of a country in which, almost as by enchantment, he had raised a superb city, with ports opening to his empire the commerce of the world. He had attained a fame which spread throughout Europe; he was respected and feared by neighbouring countries.

Peter was now at the height of his glory, to attain which he had hazarded his life, braved the perils of both sea and land, and had done more than any warrior or legislator of his time. Nor did he deem his conquests dearly purchased, since he had obtained this peace by the superiority of his arms; and his subjects were as proud of their Sovereign as he was of his successes. Such enthusiasm amongst them had never been witnessed, even to the remotest parts of the empire. It was universally felt, that the peace with Sweden was the Tzar's greatest work.

They respected not so much his repeated conquests in the field, as that he could confer peace and tranquillity on his empire, and consolidate those conquests for the public benefit. Orders were immediately given to release all the Swedish prisoners in Siberia; and as many of them as chose to remain in that country, were required to make a voluntary declaration to that effect in the presence of their officers; and he conferred on his new subjects of Livonia the privileges which they had been formerly deprived of, and encouraged foreigners to settle amongst them. To the Protestants of Riga he granted a church for the public exercise of their religion. In every way joy and happiness were diffused amongst his subjects by the great Sovereign of Russia. One trifling

drawback to the Tzar's happiness occurred about this time, viz., the death of his second son, which occurred on the 25th April, 1719, whose loss he felt so severely, that he shut himself up at Peterhoff, where he remained three days and nights, it is said, stretched on the ground, and seized with those convulsions to which he was subject, and his neck stiffened in a frightful manner; here he remained without taking any nourishment, or suffering any one to interrupt his solitude. It is difficult to comprehend how the death of a child could so profoundly afflict a man of such determined courage, except, it may be, his great disappointment that the succession of the throne should not descend to a son of Catherine; or, it might have been, that he saw in it a sort of chastisement from Heaven for the death of his son, Alexis. Even Catherine, who was equally afflicted with her husband, had, at this time, lost her influence over him. She knocked at the door, to which the Tzar made no answer, when she had recourse to Dolgorouky, the chief of the senate, who was emboldened by the wants of the state.

During the absence of the Tzar, every thing was suspended; the councils were without chiefs; and the generals were waiting for their orders. He determined to brave the fury of his terrible Sovereign, and threatened him that, if he did not open the door, he would force it open. "I will open it," said the Tzar, "but to cut off thine head." He did open it, when Dolgorouky replied, "I come in the name of the senate, to demand of thee to name another emperor, since thou hast renounced being so." Peter embraced his friend, who conducted him to Catherine; he dined that day with the Sovereign, and the affairs of state took their usual course.

Seventeen hundred Russian prisoners were sent back

from Sweden, where great rejoicings were made on account of the peace, the war having brought them almost to the brink of destruction.

The Tzar now appointed the 22nd October as a day of public thanksgiving, a few days before which time he went to the senate, and made the following speech:— "Since it had pleased God to heap so many blessings upon him during the last burthensome war, and at length to grant him a peace so glorious and advantageous to the whole empire, he thought it but a piece of justice in him to do the nation some favour, in acknowledgment of the mercies he had received at the hand of God; and that he could not acquit himself better of his duty, than by publishing a general amnesty through his dominions for all crimes that had deserved punishment, except those who were under sentence of death; that all public debts owing by those who were unable to pay, be remitted; that all poor subjects be absolved from all arrears of taxes and imposts due to the treasury up to the day of the proclamation of the peace."

The senate thanked his Tzarian Majesty in the name of the whole nation, for his paternal clemency and tenderness towards his subjects; and orders were immediately given to set at liberty all persons in confinement in the prisons and the galleys, those for robbery and murder only excepted. On the day appointed for solemnizing the thanksgiving, their Tzarian Majesties went in the morning to the cathedral, where, after the liturgy had been celebrated, the treaty of perpetual peace with Sweden was read before the people. The public rejoicings, which lasted during fifteen days at St. Petersburgh, exceeded every thing that had ever been witnessed in that city. The Tzar mingled amongst his subjects,

gratified with the delight which they took in his glories; his deportment was that of a conqueror, returned crowned with laurels to receive the honours due to him from his own people, which they were now about to confer. In the processions which took place, there was exhibited the small sailing-vessel which, in his youth, had inspired him with the desire for a navy.

On the 20th October, 1721, the senate, after mature deliberation with the clergy, resolved, in the name of the whole Russian empire, humbly to thank his Majesty for the fatherly care and pains with which he had applied himself to the advancement of the happiness of the empire, to confer upon him the titles of "Father of his Country, Emperor of all Russia, and Peter the Great." The senate, by their chancellor, Golofkine, addressed him in the following terms:—"Most high, most mighty Lord, and very gracious Sovereign,—It is to the great and glorious actions of your Tzarian Majesty alone, and to your indefatigable efforts, civil and of war, that we are indebted—We, your faithful subjects, to have been drawn from the darkness of ignorance, to have been engaged in the career of honour, and to have been brought into relations with all civilized nations—the whole world acknowledge us as such. How shall we express to your Majesty our gratitude for such benefits, seeing that all eulogiums are unequal to it; and particularly that which you have granted us by that honourable and advantageous peace, which is entirely due to your personal efforts? But well we know, your Majesty finds no pleasure in eulogiums, from which we ought to abstain; it is impossible to appear before your Majesty with empty hands, from the fear of incurring the reproach of ingratitude, which all the world would reproach us

with. We, your faithful counsellors, dare humbly to beseech you to accept at our hands the title of 'Peter the Great, Father of the Country, and Emperor of All the Russias,' in testimony of our gratitude, as just as it is illimitable. The title of Emperor has been already yours, it having been given, some years ago, to your illustrious predecessors, by the great Maximilian, Emperor of the Romans—more than one potentate qualified you in it. The epithet of 'Great,' which your great actions have merited, is found in numerous writings joined to the name of your Majesty; but it is a boldness which we have taken upon ourselves, in daring to offer you besides, the title of 'Father of the Country,' which we would give to the father whom the goodness of God has given to us, following the examples of the ancient senates of Greece and Rome. Your Majesty will pardon this paternal title, the gratitude which we owe and which animates us to dare to place at your feet as a gift that which belongs to you as a right. Your Majesty will permit us to recommend ourselves in all devotion, and with profound respect, to the continuation of your Majesty's benevolence." Then the whole senate thrice repeated "Long live Peter the Great, Father of his Country, and Emperor of All the Russias!" and the whole assembly testified their applause by the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums. At the same time, the cannons were discharged from the ramparts, the admiralty, and a hundred and twenty-five galleys; and a battalion of the guards, which was drawn up in a line near the church, fired a "*feu de joie.*"

His Imperial Majesty then made a gracious speech in reply, "That he heartily desired the nation would acknowledge the goodness of the great God, for his mer-

cies vouchsafed during the late war, and by the treaty of peace established with the Crown of Sweden; that he would render all thanks to God; and, while they enjoy peace, not to put aside military exercises, lest what has happened to the great monarchy should happen again; and, thirdly, that they would lay the public good to heart, and make a profitable use of the advantages which God had been pleased to put into their hands, for making commerce flourish, and for easing the nation."

His Tzarian Majesty was not said to have been much gifted with the powers of oratory; but he thanked the senate for the honours conferred upon him, and signified his intention of accepting them.

Then the senate went in a body to congratulate the Empress and the Princesses, by whom they were very graciously thanked. The Tzar received the congratulations of the grandees and the foreign ministers resident at the court. Great rejoicings took place in the city; the conduits in the streets ran with wine; an ox, stuffed with fowls, was roasted whole for the populace; illuminations and fireworks were general throughout the city; balls and masquerades at the court were repeated for five or six days successively.

The Tzar published an ukase, announcing to the world his new titles, beginning with—"By the grace of God, Peter I., Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, of Moscow, Kief, Volodimir, Novogorod, the Great Tzar of Russia, &c. &c. &c." Such were the titles by which he styled himself; in addition to which, his successors have been since styled "King of Poland," in 1814. It has been before noticed, that the first title of the Sovereign of Russia was "Kniaz" or Prince; in 1547, Ivan the Terrible proclaimed himself "Tzar" or Autocrat

of all Russia, "Tzar" being by some supposed to signify "Cæsar," which was formerly assumed by the Emperor of Germany only. Peter now called upon the different sovereigns of Europe to acknowledge his title as Emperor, which was done by all except the King of Poland.

On the 29th December, the Tzar made his triumphal entry into Moscow, where he was received with great pomp by the officers of the court, the clergy, &c. The Archbishop of Novogorod pronounced the following speech:—"Forasmuch as by the Divine blessing, and by your signal actions, your Imperial Majesty's high renown and glory are far advanced above all the beauties of rhetoric—We, the Synod here assembled in a body, are afraid to commemorate them in this speech, lest, by our own insufficiency, they should suffer diminution: nevertheless, we take the liberty to make our most humble congratulations to your Imperial Majesty—may you taste the incorruptible fruits of your labours in perfect health for many years to come, and bring up your children to be fathers of their country! We also unanimously wish that your most happy successors, descended from your imperial blood, may to perpetuity produce fruits of virtue equal to that of your Imperial Majesty." This speech was very graciously received, and the rejoicings took place at Moscow on almost as splendid a scale as at St. Petersburgh; and, as his Muscovite subjects had never seen the sea, a little yacht and a frigate of sixteen guns, manned by youths dressed as sailors, were mounted on sledges, and drawn through the streets for several days, with colours flying, and a band of martial music. The Tzar made his triumphal entry into the city under decorated arches, when

he was greeted by the authorities. The rejoicings and entertainments, which were of the most splendid description, lasted for some weeks; and in order to wean those families from their prejudices in favour of the old customs, which still prevailed at Moscow, he ordered burlesque carnivals to be exhibited, in which they were held up to ridicule, particularly the clergy, to whom the superstitions and absurdities of the church were completely exposed. Nothing escaped the vigilant mind of this great Sovereign; and, amidst the rejoicings which were made throughout the Russian empire, he ordered a public thanksgiving for the great event of the peace with Sweden. It was on this occasion that the Tzar instituted the religious ceremony of blessing the waters of the Neva, in 1721, which is annually observed at St. Petersburgh, on the anniversary of the 18th January; at which time there is raised on the ice, which is generally from six to eight inches thick, in front of the Hermitage Palace, a magnificent temple, the exterior of which is ornamented with eight statues of angels, and with four large oil-paintings, representing the Baptism of Our Saviour, St. John preaching in the Wilderness, the Passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, and the Election of the apostles St. Peter and St. Andrew. This temple is surrounded on the outside with a long terrace and an open gallery. In the first, Divine service is performed, and in the second are ranged, to be blessed, all the standards of the regiments of guards. The Primate, assisted by other ecclesiastical dignitaries, generally performs the holy office, which is attended by the Emperor and all the members of the imperial family, who, with bare heads, salute the holy emblems. The ice is covered with spectators, which is broken in some

places to assist the ceremony. The moment the holy cross is immersed in it by the Primate, the infantry, which line the borders of the river, fire a *feu de joie*, and the rejoicings become general.

The Emperor is the first to plunge his hands into the blessed waters, then the people plunge, some their arms, some their legs, although there may be at the time thirty degrees of cold. During the three successive days which the festival lasts, the people swarm in crowds around the temple, some to drink the consecrated water, others to plunge their limbs in it, others to take it away in large bottles to sprinkle their houses with, or to cure paralytics. The ignorant people imagine that it is the only method of cleansing them from their sins which they have committed during the Christmas festivals.

Peter having been now crowned with his honours, and the people intoxicated with their enjoyments, his imperial Majesty occupied his first leisure in looking over those establishments and institutions which he had not seen since 1718; he visited the manufactories of arms, and encouraged the erection of powder mills; he gave directions to establish woollen manufactories, and encouraged artisans of all classes to vigilant industry. He also sought to improve the morals of his subjects by prohibiting gambling, and he endeavoured to cultivate amongst them principles of political economy. He encouraged those travelling abroad, by taking off former restrictions, and ordered all the young nobility to take their wives with them, in order to bring back the manners and refinements of more civilized Europe; he endeavoured to introduce among them a taste for literature and the fine arts.

Peter occupied himself much in framing a code of laws for his empire, having derived much knowledge on the subject from the different nations which he had visited, and extracting from it such portions as were suitable to his own country; he created a *procureur-général*, to whom were joined four assessors, for every government in the empire, who were charged with the administration of justice in these governments. The greater part of his laws were derived from those of Sweden; he even admitted some Swedish prisoners to preside at the tribunals, who had learnt the Russian language, and were willing to remain in the country. His extreme activity in legislating for the benefit of the people may be thus seen from 1714 to 1717. He published ninety-two ordinances, or regulations; in 1718, thirty-six ukases against crime, and twenty-seven in 1719. In 1722, he founded his new code, and, under penalty of death, the judges were prohibited from substituting their private opinions against the general law, of which ordinance notice was fixed at the different tribunals of the empire. In the following year he published a maritime code; he proscribed gaming as a sordid passion, and appointed an attorney-general and four assessors in each government to keep a watchful eye upon the judges, whom he prohibited from receiving fees or reward. He wished even the council to be paid by the state, and that justice should be gratuitously administered; thenceforward cases were ordered to be brought forward for trial, according to their state, without any attention being paid to the person interested in it. The Tzar created every thing, and the Tzar regulated every thing, even the grades of society, from a field-marshal to an ensign; he also decreed that every soldier becoming

an officer should take the rank of a gentleman, and that every noble condemned by the tribunals should be degraded to that of a plebeian.

Peter attempted even domestic civilization amongst his subjects, by ordering "ré-unions," or "soirées," amongst them of the two sexes, not only of the nobles, but even of the merchants and mechanics, who were obliged to give assemblies in turn, of which a public notice was given. They were ordered to furnish wines, brandy, tobacco, and all sorts of games. These unions were established by certain laws, every transgression of which subjected the transgressor to drink a whole bottle of brandy; consequently they fell into excessive habits of drinking, in which the Emperor himself participated: he would press the guests to drink, more particularly those who were noticed for their sobriety.

The wine-cup was sometimes presented by the Empress in person, when such an invitation was irresistible. The Emperor was sometimes furious in his cups; his anger was terrible, and his passions fatal to his friends occasionally. One day, in his boat, he had been contradicted by one of his nobles; in a moment he took him up in his arms, and was going to throw him into the sea. "Thou mayest drown me," said the senator, "but history will record it." Overwhelmed with shame, Peter replaced him in the boat, so sensitive was he to fame, and how he should be judged by posterity. His entertainments mostly terminated in drunkenness, and there can be no doubt that the days of this great sovereign were abridged by his excesses.

The Emperor now occupied himself with the important business of the succession, his son Peter Petrovitch having died in his fifth year, as before related; and,

although it was not known on whom his choice would fall, yet he published an ukase—"That it was his Imperial Majesty's pleasure that every one should swear, and give it in his hand, that he would not only approve the choice his said Majesty should make of a successor to the government of his empire, but, moreover, whatever person his Majesty shall propose for that end, as his Emperor and Sovereign." Such was the despotism imposed on the people of Russia at that time, and so readily acquiesced in, that they pressed forward in crowds to subscribe to the will of their emperor in printed papers, which were delivered to them at the churches, where they were ordered to attend on a certain day for the purpose.

A similar order was published at St. Petersburgh, and the grandees of the empire were commanded, under pain of death, to attend at Moscow for the same purpose, and only those were excused that resided in the distant provinces of Astracan and Siberia. His Majesty obtained the most complete allegiance over the people to whomsoever he may select, since he knew that the happiness of Russia and the progress of civilization depended entirely on this choice; he had built up a great empire, consolidated its prosperity, and laid the foundation of its power, but his labours might be all overthrown by the demerits of his successor. Peter's anxiety for the happiness of Russia was not confined to the period of his own reign only; and, in his endeavour to provide for the future welfare of his country, nothing was supposed to have given him more anxiety.

Peter being now almost satiated, as it were, with his successes, and with the honours and titles conferred upon him by his subjects; his domestic peace being

re-established, and the internal affairs of his empire prospering; he turned his attention once more to foreign conquests, and, as he had opened the Baltic Sea at one extremity of his empire to his subjects, so he resolved to attempt the same with regard to the Caspian on the other, with which he was well acquainted, having formerly sent expeditions to sound its waters and survey its coasts. He had for a long time contemplated the dominion of the Caspian by a powerful fleet, in order to protect Russian commerce by way of Persia into India. He found himself completely shut out from the navigation of the Black Sea by his last treaty with the Turks, to whom he had abandoned Asoph; his fleets, therefore, at Varonitz, and on the Don, which had cost him so much, were perfectly useless. Persia was at this time governed by a very feeble sovereign, Hoosein Shah, a descendant of the great Shah Abbas; but he had no power to control the border tribes, who were living under his protection, but not under his subjection. These tribes were numerous, the Affghans, the Mongols, and Tartars, who made frequent new incursions into Persia, laying waste both territory and the people who were not strong enough to resist them.

Meer Mahmoud, an Affghan chief, invaded Persia on one side, whilst the Lesghines on the other entered Shervan, one of the Persian provinces, putting the inhabitants to the sword, and, amongst others, three hundred Russian traders, who had been settled there for some time. The Russian caravans, on the way to China, had been likewise plundered by the Lesghines. Peter had, therefore, a double motive for his expedition to Persia. He demanded satisfaction of Shah Hoosein, which he was unable to render him; furthermore, when he heard of the

Emperor's intended expedition to the Caspian, he entreated his help to rid him of the invader, Meer Mahmoud, who was making rapid inroads into Persia. The Tzar felt doubly armed, as it were, first, to avenge his own subjects, and then to aid his ally, as he would consider Hoosein Shah to be; and a large fleet was prepared to sail down the Volga as far as Astracan, capable of transporting 30,000 troops, where the Tzar and the Tzarina were to join them. Their majesties set out on the 15th May, 1722—Peter to carry his victorious arms to the East. The plunder of the Russian caravans amounted to some millions of rubles; the Emperor had demanded satisfaction, and now he marched to enforce it. The army consisted principally of those veterans who had conquered the Swedes; to these were added some raw levies, and, including 500 sailors, the whole expedition amounted to about 50,000 men. The plan which the Emperor had laid down was full of perils; the horses were to pass over land, through deserts which had no water; and the troops were to march through the defiles of the Caucasus, where a small opposing force could destroy an army.

On the 16th June, their Majesties arrived at Astracan, where the expedition had preceded them. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Apraxin. The Emperor then published a manifesto in Turkish-tartar and the Persian languages, saying that he made war to punish the brigands, and to defend Hoosein Shah against the invaders of his country. At Saratoff, on his way to Astracan, a small place on the Volga, the Emperor had an interview with a Kalmuc chief, Ayaha Khan, with whom he made a treaty to supply him with ten thousand troops, who were to join him on the shores of the Caspian, and

they were punctual at the time and place appointed. On their march, the troops encountered all the miseries of an eastern clime, through hot sandy deserts, with scarcity of water, lack of provisions, and enduring such privations as materially thinned their ranks; but Peter was always at the head of his army, where he exhibited the same activity and perseverance which had previously so distinguished him in the most renowned of his wars. He was to be seen, heedless of fatigue or danger, sometimes walking, dressed in a short dimity waistcoat, in a white nightcap, and with a large flapped hat on his head, enduring the privations, and partaking of the hardships of the common soldiers, amongst whom he would mingle, examining if their guns were loaded, and keeping them in good-humour on the march, partaking of their coarse food, and marching with them on foot under a burning sun, on a deep and heated sand, in the midst of thick dust, and frequently without water to quench their thirst.

The army encamped before Turkoa, and on the way the Emperor gave audience to many of the chiefs of the Tartar and the Kalmuc tribes, who tendered him their entire submission, and acknowledged Russian sovereignty.

In the middle of September, his Majesty arrived at Derbent. This was an ancient city, said to have been repaired by Alexander the Great; it appeared to be impregnable by land, and accessible only by water. The governor, or Naib, came out at the head of the most distinguished inhabitants, and presented the keys of the city to the Emperor, who confirmed him in his government, and left in the city a garrison of two thousand men. Peter entered the city amidst the roars of artillery and the acclamations of the people. Having taken possession of the place, he encamped within the walls, on the sea-

shore, and was only molested by one chief of the neighbouring tribes, who called upon the Tartars to assist him in preventing the occupation of the city by the Russians. But he was soon punished for his temerity; a party of Cossacs and Kalmucs were sent to ravage his country—and of his "Bourg," or whereabout, not a vestige remained.

Peter would have pushed his conquests further, but many causes prevented his doing so; news was brought him that a tempest had scattered his fleet, and that sixteen vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war were lost. As has been stated, he had been encouraged to pursue his march into Persia by invitation from the Shah, to help him against his invading foes, and likewise from the inhabitants of Resht and Baku, to deliver them from the army of the usurper. It is probable that the Emperor would have responded to these calls, but a more powerful preventive than even the loss of his ships just then occurred, which it was prudent to respect.

Suddenly, a Turkish army arrived at his camp to inquire from the Grand Seignior why his Majesty should invade his dominions whilst peace existed between them; and, in order to preserve it, he required that Peter should immediately retire from the district. This was a mandate of considerable importance at this time. Peter, so far removed from his dominions, could scarcely run the risk of offending Turkey, and the expedition was abandoned. Derbent was put in a state of complete defence, garrisoned by Russian troops, and a fort and town were built to mark the progress of the Russian arms, near the Sulak river, to which was given the name of the "Holy Cross;" a large army had been marched to the frontier of Daghistan, on pretence

of punishing the Lesghines, but, at the same time, with a view to conquests in Persia. The unfortunate Hoosein Shah could make no resistance to prevent the Russian troops entering Baku and Ghilan, and the Emperor returned with his army to Moscow, where he arrived on the following January. Thus ended a campaign in which the Russian army was unprofitably exposed to great perils and privations.

The Tzar was received with the most distinguished honours in his ancient capital by the Viceroy, Romodamouski, to whom he rendered an account of the expedition; and the troops made a triumphal entry into the city, where the Emperor had to sit in judgment on a distinguished culprit, the Baron Schaffroft, who was guilty of peculation to a large amount, and of sundry other charges of so serious a nature, that he was condemned by the tribunal to be beheaded. The sentence was publicly announced the evening before by the sound of the trumpet; and the culprit was brought to the block, on which his head was laid, and the executioner with the uplifted axe was about to sever it from the body, when a herald cried out, "Mercy to the criminal for his life, by command of his Imperial Majesty!" Schaffroft was accordingly pardoned, and banished to Siberia for life, all his property being confiscated, which pardon it was thought was due to the Empress, since he had been her principal negotiator on the Pruth.

Their Majesties now proceeded to St. Petersburgh, where they arrived in the month of March, 1723. Persian affairs had in the meantime undergone some change; the impotent Hoosein Shah had been obliged to yield to the invader, Meer Mahmoud, by whom he had been deposed, and he occupied his capital of Ispahan. Hoo-

sein's son, Thamas, had escaped the usurper, and was now become Shah of Persia. He sent Ismael Beg, as ambassador, to implore the Emperor's assistance, who reached St. Petersburgh soon after the arrival of their Majesties.

At this time, the Russian troops occupied Derbent, Baku, and the provinces of Ghilan, Mazandaran, and Astarabad, which provinces Persia proposed to give up to Russia; whereby Peter became master, by his arms and by his treaties, of a part of the ancient kingdom of Cyrus, the Shah being willing to give up one half of his dominions if he could save the remainder.

Thamas Shah sent an ambassador, Ismael Beg, to St. Petersburgh, where he was well received, when a treaty was entered into, whereby Persia ceded to Russia all the aforesaid provinces; and a letter was given by the Persian ambassador to the Russian General, Metafkin, addressed to the people, calling upon them to acknowledge the Emperor Peter for their Sovereign. The Persian ambassador, at his audience with the Emperor, made the following magnificent speech:— "Most gracious lord, as the sun gives light to the whole earth, and as the brightness and influence of the stars procure and preserve the lives of all creatures; so all the inhabitants of the world are made partakers of your Majesty's grace and favour. The happiness which God has granted your Majesty, is such as will not suffer any person to attack you. Your Majesty's throne surpasses all others in splendour, as much as the brightest star is superior to all others by its lustre. The Almighty has established your Majesty's right and crown, as he extended the kingdoms of King Pheradami, heaped his favours on King Kiavanum, and gave glory to King Diemschid. God be with you, the valiant, invincible,

and greatest of the emperors of the age! By the favour of God, comparable to the philosopher's stone, and by God's success, known to the whole world, my most gracious lord, a true believer, has attained to the throne, and now holds the reins of government. His Majesty has sent me hither to renew and confirm the perpetual unity in his name, earnestly wishing that the sincere friendship which reigns at present may be increased and promoted on both sides."

These Oriental sublimities do not seem to have elicited any corresponding reply from the Emperor; and perhaps they were too high for his northern comprehension. Besides the Persian ambassador, there arrived at the same time at St. Petersburgh, an ambassador from the Khan of the Usbecks, to solicit the Emperor's protection against the Tartars; and the Don Cossacs sent an embassy with their submission, imploring pardon, which was immediately granted.

The new capital now began to present a busy scene. The buildings were much improved; stone houses were fast superseding those of wood; a great number of foreign artificers came to settle in it, who were supplied with houses rent free, and exempted from all taxes for two years; a great many strangers, and foreign and native merchants, flocked to St. Petersburg, which now presented a most animating scene of life and activity. It was a period of profound peace; and Peter the Great had extended his empire from the extremity of the Baltic Sea to the southern shores of the Caspian. Internal tranquillity prevailed, commerce flourished, and civilization was making rapid progress amongst the once barbarous tribes of Russia. The great conqueror seemed to have accomplished his destiny; his mind was

now occupied with the fine arts, by which to refine as well as to civilize the minds of his subjects, and to promote literature by founding an Academy of Sciences, similar to the institution at Paris, of which his Majesty was a member. A plan for it was formed, which he drew up himself, although he never lived to see it carried out, which was done by his successor, Catherine I. A large fund was appropriated for the support of the Academy, of which there were to be fifteen members, with the title of "Professors" in the various branches of literature and science.

Whilst the Tzar was forming the institution, he was reminded by his minister of the expenses attending it, and inquired if his Majesty did not think fit that the people should pay something for admission, to which Peter replied, "Who would take the trouble to come and see my curiosities, if I exhibited them for money? No! it is my intention that they shall not only be shown gratuitously to all, but also, when a party of people come on purpose to visit their contents, a cup of coffee, a glass of wine, or some other refreshment, shall be offered to them at my expense;" and the practice was continued until the death of the Empress Anne.

With the same zeal did Peter endeavour to promote literature. A printing-press was brought from Holland in 1703, with Russian and Latin types; thus, printing was introduced into Russia one hundred and fifteen years after its invention, and eighty years after its introduction into England by Caxton. They began printing some Russian translations of books of morality and polite literature, whilst Ferguson, a Scotchman, opened schools for teaching geometry, astronomy, and navigation. The Tzar ordered several important elementary, and other foreign

works, to be translated into the Russian language; amongst others was Puffendorf's introduction to his history of the European States, the translation of which was committed to a learned monk, who was ordered to read it before the Tzar. Having stopped at a chapter, the attendants observed that his Majesty's countenance changed colour, exhibiting strong marks of displeasure; and, turning towards the monk, he reproached him with having softened down the translation in the most flattering manner to the nation, when the incensed monarch said, "It is not to flatter my subjects that I put that book into Russian print, but rather to correct them, in order that they may at length know what they once were, and what they now are, through my exertions." The institution of the fine arts was much patronized by the succeeding sovereigns of Russia, and, by Catherine II., was placed on a durable basis. The Tzar took great pains to obtain good topographical surveys of his empire, for which the most talented men were sent out, and numerous publications on the subject issued from the press of the Imperial Academy.

The Emperor, now in the plenitude of his royal bounty, determined to reward the partner of his honours and toils, and, in order to confer a lustre upon his reign, he resolved to bestow upon the once obscure Martha, the captive of Marienburgh, all the honours and dignities of a royal coronation, for which he issued a proclamation, setting forth that the custom of crowning the spouse of the Emperor was common amongst Christian monarchs; then adding, "Catherine, our dearest consort, has been of the greatest assistance to us, not only in all the dangers of the last war, on which she accompanied us, and served us with her counsels, particularly

that of the Pruth, in our battles against the Turks, where our army was reduced to 22,000 men as opposed to 200,000 of the enemy. In this desperate circumstance she signalised her zeal by a courage superior to the sex, which is well known throughout the empire. For these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God has given us, we are resolved to honour our spouse with the Imperial Crown in acknowledgment for all her services and fatigues."

Magnificent preparations were made at Moscow for this imposing spectacle. The Duchess of Courland, the Emperor's niece, and the Duke of Holstein, his Majesty's intended son-in-law, were then in that capital; the foreign ministers at St. Petersburgh were invited to attend, and conveyances were prepared to take them from thence to Moscow. The ceremony took place on the 7th May, 1724, at Moscow, and no expense was spared for the august spectacle. The robe for the Empress was made at Paris, that of the Emperor was embroidered by the hands of his own spouse. The throne and the decorations of the cathedral were most sumptuous; the nobles and the ladies who assisted at the ceremony were all richly attired in robes of state. The Emperor, on arriving at the cathedral, and taking his seat on the throne allotted to him, called to him the grand marshal of the court, the archbishops and prelates, and said to them, "Our manifesto will have informed you of our intention to crown our dear wife; we wish you to do it according to the ceremonies and rites of the Church."

The Archbishop of Novogorod then advancing towards the Empress, requested her to repeat aloud the creed of the orthodox faith in the presence of her loyal subjects,

which being done, she knelt on a cushion and received the archbishop's benediction, who consecrated her with the sign of the Cross, and, laying his hands on her, recited a prayer, containing the following;—"Look down from thy holy dwelling-place on high, and render worthy of thy sacred unction our great and orthodox Empress, Catherine Alexowna, whom thou hast chosen to be the sovereign lady and ruler over thy people, and whom thou hast redeemed by the precious blood of thy only Son: invest her with power, crown her with a precious diadem, grant her long life, put the sceptre of salvation into her hands, place her on the throne of justice, defend her with the armour of the Holy Spirit, make her arm strong, put all infidel nations under her dominion, let her heart be always inclined to fear thee, and her will be always obedient to thine: let her judge thy people righteously, do justice to the afflicted, relieve the children of the poor, and let her at last obtain thy heavenly kingdom." Peter himself clothed Catherine in the Imperial mantle, and placed the crown on her head, and when she would have fallen on her knees, he raised her. Thus she who was born in obscurity, and of unknown parents, was now decorated with the ornaments of imperial power as Empress, and received such honours as were never before accorded to a wife by the sovereigns of Russia. Her Majesty was so much affected that she sank at the feet of the Emperor, which she would have embraced, but he raised her, and reassured her confidence.

The procession returned in the same order, the globe and the sceptre being carried before the Empress. Prince Menzikoff followed in her train, most splendidly attired, supported by two officers carrying rich purses

filled with gold and silver medals. History will scarcely again present two such remarkable changes of fortune, in the leading personages of this royal drama, as the Livonian peasant and the pastrycook's boy; considering, too, the nature of their first acquaintance, the dazzling reality must have been almost beyond their belief, but merit was the only passport to the favour of Peter the Great. In no other country could such a transaction have taken place but in Russia, where custom had ceased to be available in the exercise of power, and where the people showed no surprise at seeing the throne shared by one that had been raised to that elevation by the sagacity and dignity of her character. The ceremony was attended by the Duke of Holstein, who held the first rank after their Majesties in the procession. At its conclusion a grand entertainment was given, fire-works and illuminations were continued for three days, and a promotion of the army and navy took place, in commemoration of the grand event.

Russian history is very obscure as to the intentions of the Emperor at this solemn act of the coronation of Catherine, whether it was intended to impress on the minds of the people his intention that she should inherit the crown after his death, or that it was merely a pageant to gratify her vanity. No successor had yet been named, and the oath of allegiance, which the Tzar had imposed on his subjects, that they should implicitly acknowledge whomsoever he might appoint; this strengthened the belief of his intention, that the crown should descend to her on whose head he had placed it.

The rejoicings being at an end, which lasted during fifteen days, their Majesties returned to St. Petersburgh, where the marriage of the Emperor's eldest daughter

soon after took place, Anna Petrowna, with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. This princess was described as of majestic form and expressive features. The marriage was solemnized with all the pomp of the Russian Court.

The health of Peter had been for some time declining, which was partly attributed to his intemperance, and partly to that prodigal waste of himself in bodily fatigue, of which he took no account. He had been suffering from a strangury even before his expedition to the Caspian, where he constantly refused to make use of Catherine's carriage, which she often quitted herself to fill with soldiers, who were dying from heat and fatigue. Peter had the courage to conceal his sufferings even whilst the disease grew worse, and it was increased by his passing from the Baltic to the Caspian, from a frozen to a fiery region; he suffered the most excruciating pains, the secret of which he entrusted to one servant only. He would not even consult the court physician, of so much importance did he consider it that it should not be known; but, as secresy was no longer possible, he consented to undergo a dreadful operation, by an English surgeon named Horne, as the only chance seemingly of saving his valuable life, and such was the agony which he endured, that he is said to have blackened the bodies of the operating surgeons by the forcible manner in which he grasped them, but his vigorous constitution got the better by it; he was restored to life. The Tzar immediately returned to his arduous occupations: his mind was still strong and entire, although dragging along a feeble body suffering and much bent, his eagle eye still preserved its lustre, and in this debilitated state he visited the famous Ladoga canal. "This canal," said the Tzar, "will feed

Petersburgh and Cronstadt, furnish materials for their structure, carry thither all the productions of the empire, and render prosperous the commerce of Russia, with the rest of Europe." It was to be the junction of the waters of northern Asia and Europe, the communicating link between the two worlds. He gave orders that twenty-five thousand men should be put to complete it: thus he breathed into this lifeless morass the last breath of his genius. He went to Finland to examine the forges there, the manufactory of arms and other establishments; but he much increased his malady by an imprudence of heroism, which, whilst it resounds so much to his honour, probably hastened his end. At the port of Lactta, on the 5th November, when the weather was extremely cold, and the sea rough and boisterous, with his eagle glance he perceived, not far off, a vessel full of sailors and soldiers which had struck upon a shoal; he saw their danger, and called out to them what it was necessary to do, but in vain, for his voice was drowned by the clamours of the sufferers, and the roaring of the waves; then, braving all danger, he leaped into the sea, reached the stranded vessel, saved the passengers, and conveyed them to the shore, where he lavished upon them the kindest attentions. In consequence of this great action of the immortal Peter, he was soon afterwards attacked with a return of strangury, a burning fever fired his blood, and all his former pangs seized the tenderest part of his body, whilst his alarmed physician, Blomenstrit, predicted inflammation and its mortal consequences; but he did not suspend his labours, his mind, stronger than the most violent agony, was still actively engaged for the welfare of his empire, and, although hovering on another world, he was as busy as ever in creating, as it were, a new world

in Russia. Thus he continued for two months, directing the affairs of his great empire with an energy which seemed almost to increase as his body wasted. He determined to attend personally at the religious ceremony of blessing the waters of the Neva, of which some account has been given, which he did on the 17th January, 1725, but this was the last time of his appearing in public, for, on the following day, an increased fever burned him up; he struggled against the disease, but the monster levelled this giant to the ground, and he fell almost lifeless on the bed of death. All the physicians in St. Petersburgh were summoned around him, but in vain was their skill to save the dying man: they even sent to Leyden and Berlin for further advice, and, during fourteen days, the royal sufferer lay in tortures which no human remedy could relieve, which extorted from him such cries as to fill the palace with his sufferings, when, sometimes indignant at his involuntary weakness, he would exclaim—"That in him might be plainly seen what a wretched animal is man!"

On the 26th of January, he became more composed and resigned to his fate; he received the last consolations of religion; he ordered his debts to be paid, and the prisoners to be released, exclaiming—"I hope that God will look upon me with a merciful eye, for all the good that I have done to my country." He likewise settled with Catherine the time during which mourning should be worn for him; he endeavoured to write his last will, but he was now so enfeebled that his hand could form nothing but illegible marks; he could just trace "*Give to all,*" but could do no more. His favourite daughter, the Princess Anne, was sent for; but by the time she arrived his voice was still, and his left hand and

side were paralyzed; yet he tried to finish what he had begun, but he had no remaining powers of communicating his wishes. He was struggling with death during fifteen hours of fearful agony; the Empress had watched by his side for three successive nights; and, at four o'clock in the morning on the 28th of January, 1725, the struggle ceased, when Death triumphed over this redoubtable monarch, who would yield to no other conqueror.

Thus ended the mortal career of Peter the Great, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign; but he will still live, as long as Russia is an empire; the tablets of his memory neither stone nor brass shall commemorate, for it shall last till Time shall be no more. The body was removed into the grand hall of the palace, followed by the imperial family, the senate, all persons of distinction, and an innumerable train of citizens. It was then laid on a bed of state, and every one was admitted to kiss the hand of the deceased Emperor until his interment, which took place on the 21st of March, 1725.

The funeral was conducted on a scale of corresponding magnificence to his greatness; but the tears of an afflicted people were his greatest honours—they had lost in him their father, and the great regenerator of their country. The Archbishop of Procopovitch pronounced a most eloquent funeral oration over the body. On the 15th of March, died the Princess Natalia Petrowna, the Emperor's third daughter, and the funeral obsequies of the father and daughter were performed together.

The Empress, not content with paying the last duties to her husband with becoming pomp, caused a medal to be struck, worthy of the ancients. On one side was re-

presented the bust of the late emperor, with these words, "Peter the Great, Emperor and Sovereign of all Russia, born 30th May, 1672;" on the reverse was the Empress sitting, with the crown on her head, the globe and sceptre by her side on a table, and beneath her were a sphere, sea charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus; at a distance, in three separate places, are represented an edifice on the sea-coast, and the late Emperor in the clouds, supported by Eternity, looking on the Empress, and showing with his right hand all the treasures he had left her. Several of these medals she ordered to be struck in gold, to the weight of fifty ducats, and distributed among the foreign ministers, and all the grandees of the empire, as a testimony of her respect and gratitude to her late husband. She purchased the most precious marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors to erect a mausoleum for this great man, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of him to the most distant ages. Mottley gives us the following epitaph:—

Here under deposited
Lies all that could die of a man immortal,
PETER ALEXOWITZ.
It is almost superfluous to add,
Great Emperor of Russia.
A title
Which, instead of adding to his glory,
Became glorious by his wearing it.
Let antiquity be dumb,
Nor boast her Alexander,
Or her Cæsar.
How easy was victory
To leaders who were followed by heroes,
And whose soldiers felt a noble disdain
To be thought less awake than their generals!

But he,
Who in this place first knew rest,
Found subjects base and inactive,
Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable;
Neither covetous of fame,
Nor liberal of danger,
Creatures with the names of men,
But with qualities rather brutal than rational.
Yet, even these
He polished from their native ruggedness,
And, breaking out like a new sun,
To illuminate the minds of the people,
Dispelled their night of hereditary darkness,
Till, by force of his invincible influence,
He taught them to conquer
Even the conquerors of Germany.
Other Princes have commanded victorious armies,
This Commander created them.
Blush, O Art,
At a hero who owed thee nothing!
Exult, O Nature,
For thine was the prodigy!

This great Sovereign, who may be deemed to have been the founder of the modern Russian empire, was of colossal stature, being six feet four inches high. He had a commanding, yet somewhat ferocious countenance, which inspired terror amongst his subjects. His manners were gross and uncultivated, which may be attributed to the barbarous age in which he lived; yet he was somewhat refined by education and travel, which gave to his mighty mind that impetus for the improvement of his country which rendered him, perhaps, the most experienced general, and the most judicious minister of his age. He had escaped the influence of that effeminacy and flattery with which royalty is generally surrounded, that gave an energy to his character by which he rose above all the prejudices of his country; and by the

steadiness and intrepidity with which he prosecuted vast designs, he maintained a fearful authority amongst his refractory subjects, with whose happiness he was constantly occupied, and with the cares of his empire, and the glory of the nation. He had no taste except for simple pleasures—*fêtes* and gaudy entertainments were insupportable to him; and he disdained that magnificence which, supplied by extortion, and supported by tyranny, terminates in the misery of the poor, and the disgust of the rich. He knew that he must conquer his place upon the throne. His genius, always bold and persevering, was thoroughly comprehensive—his body was equally robust with his mind, which was sufficient for everything, for good as well as for bad.

The first impressions on the mind of Peter were imbibed from the coarse and boisterous amusements of his early companions; but in after life he acquired a taste for the Sciences and Fine Arts, which now so adorn the splendid capital of Russia. He became a most accomplished soldier—he converted a seditious and half-disciplined army—which at his decease amounted to two regiments of guards, fifty of infantry, thirty of dragoons, sixty-seven German regiments, and six of militia, distributed in permanent quarters, making a grand total of more than two hundred thousand men, to be the best disciplined in Europe, and defenders less against foreign enemies than domestic foes, so great was the opposition even yet to the reforms of this great Sovereign, who had changed every thing, customs, manners, usages, and even names and habits. This vast army, when in the field, became at length the first troops in the world. They had learned from being conquered to be conquerors—he set them the example of strict discipline from

having been at first a drummer in his own regiment. All this he had to do with a people so obstinate and ignorant that nothing but example could teach them. Peter could descend to the lower ranks of life to become an able ship-builder and a good sailor. He acquired rank in his own navy to the highest grade, by his personal services.

Peter found a small kingdom, he left it an immense empire. He conquered vast provinces from the conqueror of the age, and made them the centre of his dominions; and out of their bogs he caused to spring up a sumptuous capital, unrivalled in Europe: he was recognised as Emperor and father of his people—as the mighty conqueror in Europe and in Asia—and by the conquest of provinces in both quarters, it left him without a rival. All Europe admired, courted, and respected Peter the Great; his own nation both loved and feared him; the terror which he inspired kept them in awe; he had nothing to apprehend from foreign or domestic foes, since when they appeared against him he crushed them at once.

In the ardour of his alterations and improvements, he would sometimes adopt foreign customs and institutions without regarding time, place, or circumstances, which brought him into considerable difficulties, but these he would soon conquer by his superior genius. Russia owes to him the acquisition of Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland — the creation of her marine, military strength and political influence, which render her to this day the predominating power of the north, these are all due to the great Peter. Russia was then enabled to give laws to many of her neighbours—to command the attention and respect of the most distant powers,

and to stand one of the highest in the rank of nations.

The destinies of this great Prince seem to have reached the pinnacle of glory; but the Sclavonic blood ran through his veins: he was at times of an ungovernable temper, ferocious and cruel when instigated by the insurrection of his subjects; thirsting for blood, and in reply to the priests, beseeching him to stay the massacre at Moscow as he expected mercy for his own sins, he said, "The blood of a people rebellious to their sovereign is an offering agreeable to God, and will serve as an expiation for all my sins." His revenge was merciless—his commands were cruelties; and none had the power of checking his fury but his beloved Catherine. "Take him for all in all," history will scarcely see his like again: he appeared as a meteor in the world, dazzling in its brightness, fearful in its power, and eccentric in its orbit in his tremendous course through Russia. Peter cultivated her wastes and civilized her people beyond any monarch that had ever appeared amongst them; and so rapid were his movements, that he seemed almost ubiquitous to his subjects, who were accustomed to say of him, "God on high and the Tzar not far off;" when they thought him to have been at Moscow legislating for reforms, the founder of St. Petersburgh was in his new capital forming establishments for public instruction: nothing was too great for him.

He used to attend the senate at six in the morning, where he would spend several hours; likewise at the admiralty—always followed by a favourite dog. He went alone, preferring to mingle amongst his people, from whom he could scarcely be distinguished by his dress;

he took part in their business, their pleasures, and their conversation, and gained knowledge from their replies. He is even said to have had some taste for literature, and amidst the numerous cares of empire, at the expense of his sleep, he found time to translate several works on the arts, and particularly from Le Clerc and Sturm: he caused a great number of useful books to be translated by men instructed in the sciences, and he would detect any inaccuracies, which he did in that of a monk translating from Puffendorf. Nothing was too great nor too little for his comprehensive mind: he may be said to have been the most skilful minister, the most expert general, the best officer, and the most hardy soldier of his empire; and he was, perhaps, the wisest theologian and philosopher of his nation. He was at scarcely any expense about his person, and lived rather like a private gentleman than a prince, by which he saved those expenses which are sometimes almost ruinous in supporting the splendour of other monarchs. He was fond of company, very facetious, with much humour and pleasantry; he never kept guards about his person, nor was ever accompanied by more than five or six persons at a time.

In private life, his manners were simple, frank, and unpolished. In his humble abode in the early days of St. Petersburgh, which an artisan would hardly think good enough for himself, a bed, a chair, a table, a lathe, and some books, formed the whole of the furniture; or, when abroad, the deck of a ship or the bare ground would serve him for a bed (with a little straw, when he could get it). He was hostile to luxury, and looked to the useful; his clothes were plain, and even of coarse cloth, that they might wear well; his shoes were heavy

and clumsy, and often mended. He dined at one o'clock; his table was extremely frugal, his meats consisting principally of those of the lower orders, including cabbage soup—but nothing came amiss to him except fish, which he could never bear. He would eat little, but often, and wherever he might happen to be; but he would drink to excess, and would sometimes force his companions to do the same, in order to penetrate their secrets; during which time he would keep his senses, and carefully note down what they had divulged, of which he would sometimes avail himself to make terrible persecutions amongst his subjects.

He rose at four in the morning, even during the shortest days of winter, when he waited upon himself, and would light his own fire. His habits of life contrast strongly with those of his predecessors in the sovereignty of Russia, particularly Ivan the Terrible, at the Asiatic pomp of whose table we have had a glance. His chief cook was a German, John Velten, to whom he was extremely partial, but whom he did not largely recompense. The Tzar would make little pic-nics with his generals and ministers, each to pay their ducat, the profits from which went to indemnify his cook for the small wages he received from his royal master, whose economy was proverbial even in those days.

At four in the morning, he was ready to receive the ministers, who came to lay before him their statement of public affairs; these he examined, gave orders, made notes, considered or qualified any objections and corrections which his clear and sound judgment prompted him to suggest. He then ate a slight breakfast, and dressing himself, went to the admiralty or to the senate. After dinner, he put on a dressing-gown, and took a nap

of two hours; after which, his ministers presented for examination the report of the affairs that had been despatched in the morning.

Quass was his favourite beverage, with a little brandy, though he would occasionally give himself up to excesses, when he would put himself and his guests into a state of complete intoxication. When he dined without ceremony, or at home with some of his friends, the attendants, after placing the dishes on the table, withdrew, and left the guests to help themselves. His aversion for all that was great, and his taste for liberty, induced him to live at St. Petersburgh and Moscow like any other individual; by which means he was informed of every thing, observed all that was passing, conversed with people of all ranks and conditions, heard their remarks, and enjoyed all their social pleasures, which are generally forbidden to great men, and especially to sovereigns. His taste for music was not very refined; he delighted in noisy tunes, particularly those of the strongest and loudest wind instruments, and in the sound of bells and chimes; horns, bassoons, and hautboys alone had the power to charm him, and he was very partial to the Russian airs.

The Tzar would sometimes go on board the Dutch vessels as they came into port, eat and drink with the skippers, and invite them on shore to partake with him of some of their favourite dishes, with which he was well acquainted. When he went out it was generally on foot; and many a time was he seen working with his own hands in the manufactories which he had established. At one time, he was compelled by the state of the weather to stop at a forge, where for some hours he became a smith, and received the money for his wages, amount-

ing to thirteen-pence; with it he said he would buy a new pair of shoes (of which he was much in want), and felt pleasure in wearing them, saying, "See what I have earned by the sweat of my brow!" thus priding himself on the fruits of his labour, in the eyes of the nobility, whom he wished to cure of the indolence with which they were imbued. He enjoyed that freedom of conversation which is the charm of life: there was no situation nor profession which he despised, or which he did not honour, and encourage by his presence: he liked to mix with his subjects, of all conditions, and allowed them to converse with him with the utmost freedom, without forgetting, at the same time, what was due to himself—for no one could more readily distinguish boldness and insolence from mere clownishness and want of education: he took great pleasure in talking with mariners and merchants, to gain information from them on the subjects of navigation and commerce. He was so averse to parade, that he received the foreign ambassadors wherever he happened to be, saying that they were "accredited to his *person*, and not to his *palace*;" he therefore treated with contempt the pompous etiquette of diplomatic ceremonies, and gave his first audience to the Austrian ambassador at five in the morning; and the Prussian minister had no other way of seeing the Tzar but on board a vessel, where he was at the mast-head, arranging the rigging. Peter called to him to ascend, which the minister excused himself from doing, when the Tzar came down and gave him audience on the deck of the ship. His aversion to the trammels of royalty and etiquette, and his taste for simplicity and liberty, prompted him to get rid of those state phantoms, which he handed over to Menzikoff. Narrow-minded sovereigns are afraid

of mixing with and descending amongst their inferiors; but true greatness is conscious of its dignity, and that it will lose nothing by the closest inspection. Peter gave up his whole character to the study of mankind; his great and comprehensive mind thus acquired clear and exact ideas on general subjects.

It has been noticed that Peter was born with a horror of water, which seemed to be almost unconquerable; but he surmounted it so completely, that he would often offer himself to pilot into port the European vessels which came to Cronstadt, for which he would take the pilot's pay: this service he considered to be an honour, and was desirous to render it honourable. He had, likewise, a great antipathy to beetles, which degenerated into a weakness that he always retained: when travelling, he would never venture to enter the house of a peasant, but remained in the yard, and dined and slept in the carriage, fearful that he might encounter the objects of his aversion.

In 1704, in the midst of a horrible tempest, he saved his fleet, by entrusting himself in a frail bark, in which he went on board; the people around him were alarmed, but they said that "a Russian sovereign could never perish on the water;" and so he brought them safe into their desired haven: he would often brave danger by encountering the storm, and when all around him except Catherine were almost deprived of their senses, sometimes taking the helm, with a steady eye, a firm hand, and an unfaltering voice, he would avert the danger, and give life again to the crew, whom death seemed ready to seize. The Tzar's former horror of water now became a passion for it, which may be said to have been almost dangerous. One day he invited the foreign

ministers to accompany him by sea to Cronstadt, where he was anxious to inspect some new works in which he was greatly interested; and, as a part of the fleet was about to sail from that port, he was desirous that these gentlemen should be present at the spectacle. They embarked in a small Dutch vessel, of which Peter was the pilot; a favourable wind gently swelled the sails, and for the space of twenty versts nothing could be more prosperous than their navigation, when, all at once, a violent west wind arose, and the Tzar perceiving at a distance the cloud which threatened a tempest, prepared to oppose the storm, which soon burst forth with a fury that threatened to overwhelm the vessel. The ministers, with one accord, approached the Tzar, and entreated him to land them near Peterhoff; but he refused their request, and every time they renewed it he endeavoured to encourage them by assurances that they had nothing to fear; nevertheless, the storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, continued to increase, and the vessel, no longer navigable, was tossed up and down by the fury of the waves, and appeared every moment to be threatened with destruction. Cries of distress were heard on all sides, but Peter retained his firmness and presence of mind, and continued to oppose by his skill and science the violence of the storm: his affrighted companions again besought him to return to land, but the Tzar, always in motion, giving his orders and attending to the management of the vessel, did not hear them; until at length Mons. De Roos (Polish and Saxon minister), becoming more terrified than the rest, approached him, and said, in a lamentable and serious tone, "I entreat your Majesty, for the love of God, to go back to Petersburgh, or at least to land us on the nearest shore of

Peterhoff; and to consider that the King, my master, has not sent me to Russia to be drowned; if I should perish here, as it appears evident will be the case, your Majesty will be answerable to my court for my death." The Tzar, notwithstanding his perilous situation, could not forbear laughing at these words, and coolly answered him—"Never mind, Mons. De Roos; if you die, we shall all die together—your court will then have no one left to be accountable for the loss." Peter seeing the impossibility of reaching Cronstadt, gave up all thoughts of it, and, choosing a lucky moment, landed safely, though with some difficulty, at Peterhoff, where a good supper was prepared; and the party, in the interval of the repast, seasoned with the best Hungary wines, did not forget whilst feasting to rally Mons. De Roos on his fears. The following morning, at daybreak, whilst his companions were still asleep, Peter set sail in his vessel for Cronstadt, from whence he sent sloops for the rest of the party, to convey them to that place.

Peter was said to have been religious, of which we have but few traces: he tolerated all religions in his country, even to idolatry; he was a great enemy to impiety, and particularly under the garb of popular superstitions, or sacred impostures. On being told that in one of the churches of St. Petersburgh, during divine worship the image of the Virgin would sometimes weep, he immediately went to the church, and ordered the image to be carefully examined; and there was found within a concealment of some oil, which was so contrived, that on lighting the tapers which surrounded it, the oil melted, and was conducted to the aperture for the eyes. The Tzar exposed to the people the deception, and punished the impostor, who wanted to impress upon

them that the Virgin expressed by her tears her horror at the building of the new city.

A sovereign of such popular manners was no longer one of those terrific deities, like some of his predecessors, whom the people feared—such as Ivan and others—and by whom they were frightened by their rare and formidable presence. Peter was amiable in his own domestic circle: his devoted attachment to his wife has been fully manifested, and in the society of his daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, he seemed to enjoy that sympathy which commonly exists between the father and his children. They were docile to all his wishes; they respected his keen and ready judgment, his firm and decided character, with his intrepid presence of mind. He himself superintended their education, which extended to a knowledge of four languages; he lived on the most intimate terms with them, saying that he envied the advantages of their education, and that "he would have given one of his fingers to have had the same advantages that they had." He left one other daughter, Natalia, who felt her father's death so severely, that she died before his funeral had taken place, and they were both interred at the same time. The royal family consisted, besides the three daughters, of three sons, one of whom died soon after his birth, and the other soon after Alexis, both of these deaths having been spoken of.

The Emperor left, therefore, as lineal male heir to his throne, his grandson, Peter Alexowitz, to perpetuate him, and to carry out the magnificent creations of his wonderful genius; but, since the Tzar left no will, nor were his intentions known to any individual, the Tzarovitch's immediate succession was interrupted by the reign of Catherine I.

The domestic life of the great Peter was chequered with many a cross; his sister and guardian had been the usurper of his rights.

In spite of her attempted usurpation of his authority, he still loved her, for he said she had a good understanding and talents for business. He had been further heard to say, "If my sister would not intrigue, and make disturbances through the kingdom, but love me a little and pursue my plans, I would give up to her the administration of the interior, reserving to myself that of foreign affairs; she has a capacity which would be very useful to me; and during my travels she should enjoy the whole authority; I could not leave it in better hands." His second sister was the accomplice of Sophia; his first wife had been his enemy, and was therefore divorced; his rebellious son, Alexis, he is supposed to have sacrificed to the regeneration of his empire.

The colossal stature of Peter the Great seems to have been endowed with almost supernatural strength. He was known to traverse alone the wildest countries infested with robbers, whom he combated, and sometimes ransomed his life and liberty from their hands. He was fortunate in the glory of his conquests, and in the success of his great views relative to the order, improvement, and commerce of his empire; and it must be owned, that of him, more than of any other despot, he could say, "I am the state, the state is in me, all ought to be done for *me*—the absolute and despotic master, who owes to God alone an account of his conduct."

The most extraordinary part of the character of this great man, he was as active bodily as he was mentally. Whilst he was thought to be a great distance fighting at the head of his army, he would suddenly appear at the

sitting of the senate, or in a court of justice. When the riots of the Strelitz took place, and they thought him to have been in Holland, he was looking out upon them from his palace-window. Nothing seemed to come amiss to his versatile genius, whether ordering ships to be built, or a canal to be dug, a judge to be punished, or a scientific institution to be founded for human industry and contrivance. He was the giant of a genius; he would undertake every thing, and act as though he was the only person capable of performing it; and, by working at the mechanical trades himself, he proclaimed to his subjects, that merit and industry were the only passports to his favour.

Nothing of utility escaped the notice of his inquisitive mind in the countries which he visited; even the institutions of the different orders of merit and distinction in foreign courts, which had not yet been introduced into Russia. He noticed the keen avidity with which a ribbon or a cross was coveted by the subjects of these courts; hence, he introduced the order of St. Andrew, now the patron saint of Russia; and the order of St. Catherine, in honour of the Empress consort. His great general, Galatzin, was the first knight of the first order, whom the Tzar decorated with his own hand, and his beloved Catherine he likewise graced in a similar manner.

Peter, by serving in the different grades of the army and navy, gave an example to the nobles of his empire, that it was no degradation to them to fill the same ranks, and thereby to render themselves serviceable to the state. The Russian soldiers previously to this time were without subordination, or discipline; they were furious and savage in their warfare; and at the battle of Narva the Tzar strove in vain to put a stop to their plundering;

and even cut down some of them with his own hand. They never knew how to behave in an enemy's country; but they were rendered by Peter not only more bold and courageous, but were brought to strict discipline, and he reared an army of 200,000 men, able to cope with the best troops in Europe.

Peter found his country without a single ship; he built an admiralty, and created a navy; he left a fleet of forty sail of the line, and two hundred galleys; he established a good police, and a number of elementary schools and colleges for the mathematical sciences. The arts and "belles lettres" were patronized by him, since he established an imperial library and a cabinet of models, with schools of anatomy, natural history, and botany. He likewise established a botanical garden, and an observatory, with printing-offices, having new kinds of type, and a gallery of paintings and statues, by the most eminent masters. He published a code of laws, which prove him to have been the Solon of his age; he regulated the church, and elevated the clergy from the depths of ignorance to a respectable rank in the Greek hierarchy. He planned an internal system of navigation with the distant provinces of the empire, which has been since perfected in the succeeding reigns. Such things before his time were unknown in Russia, where the people were so ignorant, that they looked on foreign languages as heresies, and on the mathematical and natural sciences as witchcraft.

They believed their frozen and untilled land to be the nearest to heaven, their barbarous language to be the most pleasing to the Divinity, and their brutal manners the nearest approach to the immortals; they imagined that their nation was the most eminent under the sun,

and that every other people were pagans, and must perish of famine. The Tzar's opinion of his own people was thus expressed to the King of Prussia, in an interview which he had with him at Marienwerder; he congratulated the King on being the head of a nation which he could govern by laws, while he could rule his only with the knout. Such was the rude material with which the great regenerator of Russia had to deal, in order to build up that mighty fabric, which now forms so important a part of the great European family; and, with the exception of a few natives in the midst of his people, he had no one on his side but foreigners, whose admiration he gained without affection, and without gratitude.

It was the Tzar's great ambition to make St. Petersburgh a commercial city, to open to Russian commerce, from the north to the south of the empire, a road across the widely-extended plains of the Muscovite territory. At a vast expense, therefore, he traced out the roads through the country, which he was the first to divide into versts, and to establish post-houses and inns upon them. His palaces were ports, or fortresses, either founded or built by himself, and, although sumptuous buildings sprang up in his new capital, he scarcely ever occupied them himself, but was content with a small cottage, the first built on the morass, and partly with his own hands, where may be now seen his tools, his bedstead, his writing-table, and likewise some of his clothing. His descendants hold in grateful memory everything relating to their great hero. His room has been converted into a chapel, having an altar in strict keeping with the simplicity of the apartments.

We see in Peter, that although the *man* was occasionally deformed with cruelty and drunkenness, yet the

sovereign was always *great.* He raised himself so far above the level of his countrymen, that he was truly the wonder of the age, or, as Voltaire says—"He gave a polish to his nation, and was himself a savage." Posterity have awarded to him, that he was the greatest Sovereign of his people that has ever appeared amongst them. He laid the foundation of that vast colossal empire, to which Russia has now grown; his genius triumphed over his frozen climate; and it is truly said of him, that "his virtues were his own, and his defects those of education and country."

The Russians are justly proud of the memory of Peter the Great, which is impressed, as it were, in every part of the empire, but more particularly in the capital, of which he was the founder, where, as we have before observed, is most carefully preserved the cottage which the Tzar assisted to erect with his own hands.* In order to preserve it from the destructive effects of the climate, an arcade of bricks has been thrown over it, with walls, which surround its various parts, but in such a manner as to admit a full view of the wooden building in all directions. There is a neat garden round the cottage, and a boat, made by the Tzar himself, suspended to one of the walls. On the left of the Neva, he constructed a summer residence, now called "the summer gardens," which were planted about that time. This residence is still in existence, very plain, and of moderate size, and of anything but palatial appearance. A cabinet of Peter the Great, in the museum of natural history, contains a figure of the Tzar, seated in a chair, and dressed in his court-dress, the only one he ever had, embroidered for him by Catherine, and worn

* See page 232.

at the coronation of the Empress. The figure was modelled from his own body, and the head is covered with the locks, which he caused to be cut off and arranged for the purpose, previously to his last expedition into Persia. The figure, precisely of the height of the Tzar, is of gigantic size, and, on touching a spring, starts from the chair, standing upright, to the surprise and frequent alarm of the beholders.

There are also the figures of the Arabian horse which carried him through the bloody field of Pultowa, and of two favourite dogs which used to attend him on all occasions, well preserved, and very cleverly stuffed, in an adjoining room, with many other relics of the great man, such as a bar of iron, weighing three hundred pounds, which he forged, the lathe at which he worked; but the most curious are the bas-reliefs which he worked in copper, representing some of the contests in which he had been engaged. Thus everything tells of Peter the Great, whose life was a series of actions, almost unparalleled in the history of one man, whose character offers a perfect kaleidoscope of great and wonderful actions, from its commencement to its close. He was always labouring for the benefit of his country, and no means were disdained for that purpose; he never spared himself, and was indebted for all his greatness to himself alone It was one of his sayings, that he had conquered everything but himself, and even with death he struggled hard: his last agonies lasted for fifteen hours, till, at length, to the great destroyer he yielded up the ghost.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Greek Church in Russia—Reformed by Peter the Great—the Holy Legislative Synod—the Members, and their Duties—the Dignitaries of the Church—First Appointment of the Patriarch in Russia—his Great Power—The Tzar's Reforms—the Patriarchate Abolished—Origin of the Eastern or Greek Church—Christianity, when Introduced into Russia—Ecclesiastical Divisions of the Russian Empire—The Colleges—Duties of the Bishops—The Monastic and Secular Clergy—the Degrees, and their Dress—Liberal Religious Toleration of the Russian Government—Services of the Church—Dissenters from the Orthodox Creed—Ignorance and Superstition of the People—their numerous Fasts—Saints may be added to the Greek Calendar—The Churches of Russia—of Byzantine Architecture—the Interiors—the Paintings—the Altars—the Bells, &c.—the Services of the Mass—the Eucharist—the Chaunting, &c.—the Festival of Easter—the Butter Week—the Long Fast—Palm Sunday—the Holy Lavepedium—Easter Eve—Solemn waiting for the Resurrection of Christ—Procession of the Priests—"Christ is Risen"—General Rejoicings—Easter Festivals—the Marriage Ceremony—the Betrothment—Altar Service—Putting on the Rings—the Coronation—Dissolving the Crowns—the Burial Service—the Last Kiss—the Passport—Doctrines of the Russo-Greek Church—Of the Trinity—the Invocation of Saints—Prayers for the Dead—Of Predestination—Prayers to the Virgin—Holy Relics—their Catechism—Seven Sacraments—the Nine Precepts of the Church—the Seven Deadly Sins—the Eucharist—Benediction of the Loaves—Confession—Exorcism—Baptism—The Monastic Institutions of Russia—their Chiefs—Edict of Peter the Great respecting them—of the Monastic Degrees—the Probationer—the Proficient and the Perfect—Inauguration Ceremonies—The Monasteries at Moscow.

THE great reformer of the Russian Empire did not neglect so important a work as the reformation of the orthodox national Church. He found that Russia had

been too long deluged with priests, monks, and nuns, and he determined to make a reformation amongst them, declaring, at the same time, that "he should think himself guilty of ingratitude to the Most High, if, after having reformed the civil and military orders, he neglected the spiritual." The Russian Church had been previously governed by a council of exarchy, consisting of the exarch, twelve metropolitans, seven archbishops, and three bishops; but Peter expelled all the metropolitans except that of Siberia, and reduced the archbishops to two, and appointed two more bishops. This Church government lasted about twenty years during his reign, their functions being rigidly limited to ecclesiastical affairs only; even the exarch, or vicegerent of the patriarch had but little power, which was principally vested in the Sovereign.

The patriarch, or metropolitan, who resides at the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski, holds a superior rank to the patriarch at Constantinople, or at Jerusalem; his power was first established in 1587, when Russia invested her own patriarch at Moscow, who was duly acknowledged by the same authorities of the former cities, and in some instances he was allowed the precedency. The patriarch was then considered the second person in the empire; he was consulted on all state affairs, until at length, their spiritual pride outrunning all decorum, venturing upon, and even attempting to control the sovereign power, it was resolved by Peter the Great to abolish the patriarchate altogether. The affairs of the Church were then vested in the "Holy Legislative Synod," by a decree dated the 25th January, 1721, which is very interesting, and points out how much better in a council than in a patriarch they can form quick ideas—

how the household of God should be ruled, to purify the Church of absurdity—to reject all superstitious ceremonies and frauds which are committed as to the relics of saints, &c. This ecclesiastical college was first called "the general spiritual government," the Sovereign declaring himself to be the head of it, but was afterwards called "the holy legislative synod." It was sanctioned by the patriarch of Constantinople, and acknowledged by him to be competent to all ecclesiastical affairs.

By this synod, or supreme spiritual court, the "Russo-Greek Church" is now governed, subject to the will of the Sovereign, who is the supreme head, independent of all control, with whom rests the appointments of all its dignitaries. When a vacancy occurs, it is customary for the holy synod to name two or three candidates from the body of the archimandrites, one of whom to be appointed to the vacant bishopric; but it does not always happen that the Emperor pays regard to the choice of the synod, every appointment emanating from which must have the imperial sanction.*

This supreme spiritual court of the "Russo-Greek Church" consists of one metropolitan, two archbishops, one bishop, one protopope (the imperial confessor), one archimandrite, one upper *procureur*, one chief secretary, three secretaries, one postulant, and one staff surgeon.

There are also absent members, one metropolitan, two archbishops, and one bishop, all prelates. Consistories and ecclesiastics are subject to the "Holy Legislative Synod," who take cognizance of all the canonical laws, fill up the ecclesiastical offices, maintain the purity of

* The national religion, which invests the Sovereign with a peculiar character of sanctity, inspires its devotees with enthusiasm, which strengthens his power.

the church doctrines, and establish a censorship over religious books; they exercise their control over all the churches and schools, and decide on matters relating to the faith and discipline of the Church; they pronounce sentence in matters of divorce, and perform all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts of England; they have the superintendence of the administration of the dioceses, from which it requires a report twice a year, of the state of the schools and churches, as well as the register of births, marriages, and deaths. The decisions of the holy legislative synod are subject only to the control of the Emperor, whose procurator has a right to suspend any of their proceedings, and subject them to the decision of the Sovereign.

The dignitaries of the church comprise the patriarch, four metropolitans, three archbishops, and twenty bishops.* The generality of the clergy were, during the reign of Peter the Great, both stupid and ignorant, and many of them so illiterate that they could not write. The superior clergy were held in great respect, but they kept the people in slavish obedience to the church, by retaining them in ignorance, who held, therefore, blind obedience to their spiritual leaders, by a strict attendance on rites and ceremonies, a punctual observance of the fasts, crossing themselves before the sacred pictures, &c. These formed the principal essence of their religion.

On this subject, Peter had clearer perceptions than

* Apostolical distinctions in the church of Christ are said to owe their origin to our Saviour's appointing the twelve and the seventy to propagate the gospel. The Apostles called deacons to the ministry, from whom sprang patriarchs, archbishops, &c.; but some authors contend that there were no distinctions among Christians until the third century, when Constantine the Great, the founder of Christian churches, appointed the order of bishops, presbyters, &c.

any of his predecessors, arising partly from his good natural understanding, and partly from his intercourse with foreigners in those countries which he had visited, and where he had made himself acquainted with their different creeds. He had learned also to distinguish between the forms and the spirit of religion; he tolerated every religious faith in Russia, except the Jesuits, to whom he had a great abhorrence, from what he had seen of them at Vienna. Peter had been always in antagonism with the priests; they deemed his reforms to be innovations, and his enlightened mind to be heretical; hence they opposed him in his march of social improvement, for which he determined to reduce the power of so arbitrary a body, which they possessed through monastic institutions. One half of the lands of the empire were then said to belong to the clergy, some of whom could not repeat the ten commandments.

Russia was then but thinly peopled, and the drains of the Church, by drawing within the cloisters both the wealth and the persons of his subjects, was too serious an evil for the Tzar to tolerate. He allowed those who were not of the Greek faith to build churches in several parts of the empire, which excited the greatest fury of the clergy, who bestowed upon the Tzar the name of Antichrist, and they were still more excited when he caused the Bible to be translated into the Sclavonian language; but from the continued opposition to it by the clergy, the New Testament only was finished before Peter's death, which was distributed amongst the people as fast as the sheets issued from the press.

The great reformer found that the power of the patriarch was growing so formidable in Russia, as almost to eclipse that of the Sovereign; but there is no fear now

of the Russian clergy becoming too powerful, since they are wholly abstracted from state affairs, a part of their oath being—"I will not intermeddle with secular concerns on any account whatever;" nor can the Sovereign become jealous of the Church, since his subjects bow to him with more deferential reverence than to the apostolic vicar of Christ. The duties of the "Holy Synod" likewise consist in governing the monasteries under their separate jurisdiction, having the power to excommunicate those members of them infested with heresy, in ordaining priests and deacons, in visiting every two or three years dioceses committed to their charge; to prevent abuses of false miracles, or perverting the worship of saints, from the apostolic intention of the orthodox church; to prohibit the degrees of marriage; to establish schools in their dioceses, at their own expense (that is, they take a tithe of corn from the monasteries for that purpose); nor are the bishops allowed to be absent from their dioceses without permission of the Synod. They direct the printing of all ecclesiastical books, with many other duties relative to the "Russo-Greek Church." It has been noticed that the power of the Church in Russia was becoming formidable to the Sovereign. In the year 1625, the patriarch, Nicon, aspired not only to spiritual government, but to the supreme power in the affairs of the empire, for which he was deposed by Alexis, and banished to a monastery; hence the Tzar Peter found that by degrees a Pope might grow up in Russia, not only to share his sovereignty, but to set him at defiance, and he resolved to abolish the office on the first opportunity. The patriarch, Adrian, died in 1700, and the appointment was never renewed. The Tzar excused himself to his clergy for the present, by the multiplicity of his

business; but, like a sagacious monarch, he did not betray his intention until sufficient time had elapsed to make it more palatable to the people: thus the nation was accustomed by degrees to live without a patriarch, and, in January 1722, the Tzar proclaimed that the dignity was abolished, and that for the future the government of the Church was to be conducted by a spiritual consistory, consisting of several members.

An attempt was subsequently made by the Archbishop of Novogorod, on the occasion of the coronation of Catherine, the Tzar's consort, to get the office of patriarch re-established in his favour; he humbly represented to the Tzar that so august a ceremony could only be solemnized by a patriarch, to which his Imperial Majesty deigned him no other reply than by a few strokes of his cane, but "more in love than in anger." In this way, Peter recovered to the Sovereigns of Russia the supremacy of the Church; he likewise determined to reform the monasteries, to diminish the number of monks and nuns; he put a stop to young men and women cloistering themselves in order to live at the public expense, and contributing nothing to the public good, declaring that none should be admitted to a monastic life under the age of fifty. In this decree, he says, that the majority of them are only lazy drones; he ordered that they should employ themselves in nursing and waiting on the poor, as well as disbanded soldiers, who, for that purpose, were to be distributed amongst the monasteries; the nuns were to keep schools for poor girls, to teach them female work, and to admit and succour the poor of their own sex. But, unfortunately, the Tzar's decrees produced but little effect, since he died in the year in which they were promulgated.

We shall now introduce a brief sketch of the doctrines and ceremonies of the "Russo-Greek Church" as established under the reign of Peter the Great, since but little alteration has been made in them from that period to the present time. The ecclesiastical establishment of this country, commonly called the "Eastern or Greek Church," is supposed to be the most ancient in the world, since it sprang from the Christian Church established at Jerusalem, which was said to have been founded by our Lord himself. St. James the Less being the first bishop, was constituted by the apostles, whose patriarchal see was subsequently transferred, and continues to be at Constantinople, and it takes precedence of the pontifical see of Rome. The Western Church sprang out of the Eastern Church, when, about the middle of the fourth century, divisions took place in the celebrated council of Sardis, when the pope excommunicated the patriarch, and the patriarch excommunicated the pope; but the power of the latter was not completely established until the year 480. A further schism took place in the year 857, when the patriarch, Photius, excommunicated Pope Nicholas I., because the Roman Church ordered fasting on Saturday, allowed milk food in Lent, forbade priests to marry, and permitted them to shave their beards, and lastly, maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeded not only from the Father but also from the Son. The other differences consisted in administering the sacrament in both kinds, and in baptism by immersion.

The Greek Church, claiming, as it does, priority of date to the Roman Church, claims likewise priority of numbers within its pale; these include the enormous Empire of Russia, the remains of ancient Greece, her

islands, and the numerous Christian provinces subject to Turkey, which include Palestine, Syria, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The patron saint of Russia is St. Andrew, and the doctrine of the Cross was introduced into the country in the course of the fifth century, the natives of which were then in the darkest state of Paganism; but St. Andrew is said to have visited the country, and to have planted the Cross on the mountains of Kief, near where the city was subsequently built: hence it has been called the "holy city;" but we cannot find any traces of the Christian religion until the ninth century, when the Princess Helen, now a saint in the Russian calendar, became the first convert to it. She was followed by Vladimir, her grandson, by whose orders and example great multitudes of his subjects were baptized in the Christian faith. There are some variations in the ritual and ceremonies of the "Russo-Greek Church" and that now established at Constantinople; these were introduced about the year 1670. Until that time, the patriarch of Russia was appointed by the patriarch of that city, or, at least, he confirmed the choice of the Sovereign; and instances are recorded of the most abject submission to this ecclesiastical authority, when the bishop chosen by the Grand Duke, on being sent to Constantinople for investiture, the patriarch not only chose to refuse the royal appointment, but established his arbitrary will by substituting one of his own creatures.

It does not appear that the "Russo-Greek Church" ever became a fief of the Church of Rome, except on one occasion, when in the year 1073, Isiaslof I. (baptized under the name of Dimitri) applied to Pope Gregory VII. to assist him against his enemy, Vsevolod, the second King of Poland, who had attacked and driven him from his

throne, obliging him to take flight with his wife and children.

Dimitri sent his son to bow the knee before the haughty pontiff, whose supremacy all the Sovereigns of Europe then acknowledged, offering the homage of an obedient slave, and to hold the kingdom of Russia and the Church therein established only from the right of the defender of thrones. The Pontiff, first setting forth to Dimitri, that his states belonged from that time to the successors of St. Peter, issued his bull to the Grand Prince to the following effect:—"Your son, being at Rome to adore the relics of the apostles, has declared to us, that he desired to receive from us the sovereignty of Russia as a present from the apostle, St. Peter. He has assured us that you agreed with him in this demand. We have thought it just to yield to his prayer, and to give him your states after your death on the part of St. Peter."

The Russian empire is divided into forty-three dioceses, which are administered by different ranks of the clergy, such as metropolitans, archbishops, or bishops, whose titles are not derived from such dioceses. These are again divided into three classes; the first, containing four dioceses, is governed by metropolitans; the second, containing sixteen dioceses, is governed by archbishops; and the third, with the remaining dioceses, by bishops; their jurisdiction extends over nearly 30,000 churches, and about 500 monasteries. Each diocese has a consistorial court, from which any appeal may be made to the Sovereign. There are four substantial academics in Russia, that at Moscow, St. Petersburgh, Kiew, and Kasan, besides numerous seminaries for ecclesiastical education, in which all the sons of the clergy must be brought up. This compulsory system of education has

had the effect of making many of them as learned men as any in Europe. Those youths, as a general rule, are obliged to follow the profession of their fathers, and they must have a licence before they can follow any other profession. Many of the colleges contain *Burses*, in which the poorer students are maintained, since it happens sometimes that the sons of serfs are educated for the Church, when they immediately gain their freedom.

Peter the Great issued an edict for the regulation of the clergy, ordering that all the candidates for holy orders should be educated in the schools established for that purpose; the bishops strictly to examine such candidates, if they were given to visions and dreams, hypocrisy, or dissimulation; that they should learn the principles of the Christian religion, and the duties of every state. They were not to discover the confessions of sinners, nor to upbraid penitents with their sins, nor treat them with severity and insolence; and to lay all difficult cases of confession before the bishop, and instantly to disclose those relating to treason against the Sovereign or the state. The bishops were particularly enjoined to see that the priests did not quarrel nor get drunk with the money of the voluntary offerings of the people; that they did not demean themselves contrary to their profession; that they were dressed in regular canonicals, though it might not be of the finest cloth. They were also enjoined to keep a register of births, christenings, marriages, and burials, in their respective parishes, the books of which were to be delivered three times a year to the holy synod. Two deacons, two singers, and two sacristans, are the number appointed to a parish of one hundred houses; in larger parishes, the number is increased.

The service of the Russo-Greek Church is performed in the Sclavonian language, which, though the ancient language of the country differs from that now generally used in Russia, is but little understood by the people: this is done by a priest, a deacon, a reader, and the singers, divided into choruses: the priest takes the communion service, but has little to do with the other parts, except in the benedictions and inclinations; the congregation make no responses, but cross themselves and bow, when at the beginning and at the end of each prayer is repeated—"Lord have mercy upon us;" they cross themselves on the forehead at first, then on the breast, the right shoulder and the left, thereby making the sign of the Cross, and with the thumb, the first and middle finger bent together, and by the three fingers, which signify the Trinity: these are called the "inclinations to reverence." The great inclinations or reverences are made by prostrating them so far as to beat their foreheads against the ground.

The Russo-Greek service is performed three times a day, the vespers, the matins, and the communion, which, beginning with the evening, is taken from the Mosaic account of the creation, "and the evening and the morning were the first day." Their ecclesiastical year begins on the first day of September, giving as a reason, that God most probably created the world at that season, when the fruits of the earth were in perfection. Kissing the hand of the priest is the usual ceremony when asking his benediction. The clergy are divided into two classes—the monastic or regular, and the secular clergy, exclusive of the patriarch, four metropolitans, three archbishops, and twenty bishops.

The higher preferments of the church are held by the

former, the secular clergy having been ordained by the bishops as deacons; and after being clerical students for some time, become priests, and, as such, have distinct parishes assigned to them, in which they are to act or officiate as Proto-Presbyters, the highest dignity to which a priest can aspire. The secular priests must be married, and cannot be ordained by the bishops if they are single; on the other hand, they are forbidden to marry a second wife when they become widowers, but they may continue to officiate as priests. The children of the clergy, as already noticed, generally follow the avocation of their parents, and it is rare to see a clergyman who is not descended from the clerical class. A portion of land is allotted in every parish to the priest, deacon, and four sacristans; half of it falls to the share of the priest, who has in addition fees for marriages, baptisms, and burials; and he sometimes receives presents on other occasions, which generally form more than half his income: a small pension is allotted to the widow, if he leaves any.

The monastic clergy cannot marry: neither can they absolve themselves from their vows under any pretence or circumstance whatever. They consist of the Archimandrites, or abbots; the Legumens, or abbots of smaller houses of seclusion; the Jeromonuchs and Jerodeacons, who perform divine service in the monasteries; and lastly, the Monks. Some of whom are very wealthy, although they can scarcely avail themselves of it in their seclusion, where they are obliged to lead austere and rigid lives. From the monastic clergy are chosen the dignitaries of the Church. Amongst the secular clergy plurality of livings never occurs, neither is the system of paying by tithes known amongst them. The practice of having curates is very limited, since bishops only can

have curates. The monastic clergy must wear black, whilst the secular priests wear any thing but black; the hair of both is long, and floating on their shoulders; the dress of the secular priests is a caftan, or long gown, made like a dressing-gown, and fastened round the waist with a sash; the material is of cloth stuff, and sometimes of silk, of any colour but black. The caftan, in winter, is lined with fur; they wear high fur caps, which, in summer, are replaced by broad-brimmed hats. They never shave their beards.

In towns, they are generally seen walking with long canes in their hands. Their hands are kissed by the people, by whom they are treated with great respect, although their influence is but small, which arises from the poverty of the clergy, whose condition is but little superior to the free peasant; and amongst the lower orders of the secular clergy, some of them are almost as ignorant as these peasants, with whom they will associate, and will drink and riot with them, instead of setting them a good example; hence, in the country, the priests are never looked up to as companions for gentlemen, and the proprietor of an estate never thinks of noticing the neighbouring pastor. Noblemen will sometimes keep priests in their house to say mass, but they commonly dine with the footmen, and are never admitted to their master's table.

The monastic clergy wear sometimes robes of black velvet, and a tall black cap on their heads; their sacerdotal appearance is rather imposing. In point of education they are very superior to the secular clergy, and amongst them may be found persons of very great learning and of eminent piety, which might entitle them to rank amongst the clergy of the most civilized nations in

Europe. The low and sometimes degraded state of the secular clergy, almost immediately occupied the attention of the Emperor Nicholas on his accession to the throne, who was desirous to raise them by a higher education to a condition more qualified to reform their sacred functions; hence, on the 11th January, 1826, an imperial ukase was issued, commanding the Holy Synod to prepare and submit for his approbation a plan for securing a better education for the children of the clergy, and for providing better means for the subsistence of those persons who devote themselves to the ecclesiastical career, if they are resident in poor districts. It has been noticed that serfs sometimes, but seldom, become priests, when they are immediately free; but the nobles are never known to enter the priesthood. The number forty has something sacred in it among the Russian clergy, but of which no explanation is given.

The clergy are exempted from all government-charges, and since this applies equally to their families, it is estimated that there are at least a million and a-half of individuals who contribute nothing to the state. In Russia all religions are liberally tolerated, and persons of every creed are admissible to the highest offices of the government. Every people in the world professing a religious faith, have their temples or their altars in this country, from the Calmuc, who worships his pagan idol on the hill tops, to the Parsees or fire-worshippers. In the Nevski Prespekt may be seen the Greek cathedral, the Roman Catholic chapel, and the Mahommedan mosque; the Armenians likewise have their church in the capital. The Papists have not made much progress in Russia, nor are they numerous; they are watched with much jealousy since the reign of Catherine II., who prohibited

all papal bulls in Russia, or the appointment of any bishops without the sanction of the government. It has been calculated that the services of religion are performed at St. Petersburgh in fourteen different languages.

The service of the Russo-Greek Church is extremely long, and, besides the mass, consists of psalms and hymns, the liturgy, and reading passages from holy writ; the chaunting is strictly vocal, and no instrumental music is permitted in their churches. The prayers for the Sovereign, and for the whole imperial family by name, is never forgotten; the prayers also for the city or monastery in which they are, for all cities and countries, and for the faithful who dwell in them; for the wholesome temperature of the air, for the increase of the fruits of the earth, and for peaceful times; for all that travel by land or by water; for all sick persons, prisoners, and captives, and for their salvation; to be delivered from all affliction, strife, and necessity—such are the leading subjects of their liturgy, the chaunting of which is most imposing, a fine bass voice being indispensable for all those whose duties lead them to officiate in the churches, and the study of music is assiduously attended to by them: the finest effect of the voice and organ could not produce more harmony of sound than the chaunt of the choristers of the Russo-Greek Church. Whilst some of its dignitaries live in great ease, some of the secular clergy have scarcely sufficient to supply their wants.

The revenue of the metropolitan does not exceed eight hundred pounds a year, that of an archbishop six hundred, and of a bishop five hundred, with which they can live very respectably, and support their rank in Russia; some considerable sums are likewise vested in them as a sort of almonry fund, the disposal of which

is entirely at their discretion, nor are they amenable to any one for such disposal. At the present time, it is estimated that there are altogether about 250,000 orthodox clergy, or one ecclesiastic for every 230 individuals, whilst the clergy dissenting from it may be reckoned at 50,000. These are called Ruskolnicks, from the word "Roskel," to divide, or heretics, who differ much amongst themselves, even to seventy different branches or sects; these preside over about two millions of people, which is the estimated number of those who dissent from the orthodox or national Church; and, although they are so numerous, they are held in such detestation by the true Church, that an annual service takes place in the month of March, sometimes presided over by the metropolitan, of "cursing the heretics," which applies not only to the present but to the past generations. The service is very long, consisting principally of anathemas, which may be considered as the "thunder and lightning of the Church." By the laws of Russia, when any of the Ruskolnicks marry any members of the orthodox faith, their children must be educated in that faith. The ignorance of the secular clergy cannot inspire the people with much respect for the religion which they teach; hence they descend to a low state of Christianity, where dogmas are substituted in the place of morals—miracles instead of reason—the performance of ceremonies instead of the practice of virtue—and expiations of guilt instead of repentance or punishment; the lower orders have a firm belief in the influence of good and bad angels, and stand in awe of the tempter of men; hence they cross themselves to drive away evil spirits, as well as to avert every kind of misfortune which man is heir to. Their way of making the cross is different from that of the Papist; they

move from right to left, and every one who has pretension to a devout character will make the sign of the cross twenty times running, and accompany it with bowing of the head and body.

Every Russian is devoted to his patron saint, which he carries about with him, besides the amulet that he receives at his baptism, and which is generally swung round his neck—a figure of St. Nicholas, or some other saint, stamped on brass; this he will carry in his pocket, and it must never be laid aside. It is frequently the only thing which a peasant or a soldier has with him on the march: nothing can be more common than to see him take the figure out of his pocket, clean it, and then place it opposite to him, and, on a sudden, prostrate himself, make the sign of the cross a thousand times, fetch a heavy sigh, and repeat (perhaps forty times) "Lord, have mercy upon us!" Having finished his prayer, he shuts the box, and replaces the figure in his pocket. But the Russian nobleman is a little more ceremonious with his saint, who likewise accompanies him on his journeys, dressed in gold or silver: on his arrival at the place where he means to put up, the first business of the servant is to take the figure from the case, and place it in the room of his master, who immediately honours it with his prostrations.

Besides the fifty-two Sundays in the year, the Russians celebrate sixty-three festivals, five of which were dedicated, during the reign of Catherine II., exclusively to the Empress; at court, the "Te Deum" was followed by balls, feastings, and distributions of favours; in the towns and country, by drunkenness and profligacy. Mourning is commonly worn in Russia for six weeks, during which time the priest (if he is paid for it) will

pray night and morning over the grave. The Russians show great respect for the memory of the departed, by annually repairing to their graves, to offer up prayers and burn incense. The peasantry and lower orders are profoundly devout, to which they add charity as one of their rules of faith; they never refuse bread to a beggar who asks it in the name of God. To commit any sin on the day of receiving the sacrament, they deem most heinous; and those who cannot trust themselves, will sometimes go to bed and sleep the time away, so as to be out of the way of temptation. Their veneration for their pictures is excessive, before which they will prostrate and cross themselves: they are to be found in almost all the houses and shops, encased in rich frames, before which is a small lamp suspended by a chain, which on Sundays and holidays is kept lighted with fine oil, or the image is sometimes lighted up with wax tapers. The halo round the head of the figure, amongst the lower orders, is of gilt or silvered copper, with stones or coloured glass, to imitate the gold and silver used by their wealthier brethren. No one enters the house without taking off his hat, nor speaks to any one until he has addressed some prayer to the figure before which he crosses himself. Even in the piazzas and the market-places these pictures are to be seen, before which the merchant makes his prayers and addresses, and implores a blessing on his next bargain: the passers-by make the sign of the cross, and sometimes offer a propitiation in the form of a five-copĕk piece. In these pictures there are numerous dealers, both stationary and itinerant, since it is found that even the saints are liable to decay; when they become old, and in a disgraceful state, they deem it impious to sell their

saints, but will barter them for another, paying at the same time perhaps quite the original price of the new one.

Confession, in the Russo-Greek Church, differs from that of the Romish Church in this particular—that repentance alone suffices to obtain remission for their sins; but neither restitution nor atonement is insisted upon when another party has sustained loss by the sins committed. They hold in abhorrence the doctrine of the Papists, that such pardon is to be purchased by money, or any other sin-offering.

The common people observe with the most scrupulous exactitude the four great fasts which are enjoined them; at which time their superstition carries them so far, that the conscience of a Russian would not be so much affected by a theft or a murder (for which he might obtain absolution), as by having eaten meat, or an egg, during Lent. The rich have sumptuous tables, well provided with fish and exquisite fruits; whilst the poor confine themselves to linseed-oil, fish, roots, and mushrooms, which form their sole nourishment; and they reduce themselves sometimes almost to skeletons, during a six weeks' fast. Hence it happens that in the Russo-Greek Church the light of truth is almost extinguished by the bondage of these corrupt superstitions, and that this is not a soil seemingly for the growth of vital Christianity. It should be noticed, that the number of saints in the Greek calendar may be at any time increased by an imperial ukase.. Thus the Emperor Paul, at the recommendation of the Holy Synod, added to their number, on the following recommendation:—In 1796, a coffin was found at the convent of Sumovin, in the city of Tretma, containing a corpse in the habit of a monk;

it had been interred in 1568, but was in a state of perfect preservation, as were also the garments, from the letters embroidered on which it was found to be the body of the most venerable Feodore Sumovin, founder and superior of the convent, who had been acknowledged as a saint during his lifetime for the miracles he had performed. The ukase is dated 28th September, 1798. His Imperial Majesty likewise enriched the Russian calendar with a few festivals—amongst others, that of the saint lately dug up, and of the Madonna of Kasan; he added, besides, the commemoration of the transmission of the picture of the Virgin Mary, painted by St. Luke, and three fingers of St. John the Baptist from Malta to St. Petersburgh, as may be seen in the almanack of that city for 1801.

The Russians have a remarkable custom of consecrating, not only their churches, but their houses also; hence, no one would consider his residence to be complete until the priest had blessed and sprinkled it with holy water, and swinging the censers about with the incense of consecration. Even blessing the loaves and the fruit sometimes takes place, with those who are very strict in religious observances; they then walk to and fro in their churches, freely eating such things as have received the priest's benediction. Thus religious forms are intimately blended with the usages of the Russians, and superstition is a leading feature of their character; their houses abound with images and portraits of saints. The patron saint is generally hung in the corner of the room, with a lamp before it, which on festival days is lighted with the best olive oil; hence, it is deemed disrespectful to keep the hat on for a moment, on entering a house, and the devout will generally go

up to the saint, and cross themselves, muttering some short prayer.*

The churches of Russia are generally of the Byzantine architecture. They are built due east and west, most commonly in the form of a cross, whilst others are almost square. Some of them are handsome buildings. The roofs consist principally of cupolas, some having as many as four—each cupola is surrounded by a tall gold cross, with numerous chains hanging from it, to fasten it to the cupola, the chains being likewise gilt. The cupolas are covered with plates of iron, painted either white or green; and occasionally they are covered entirely with gilt, which gives them a very splendid appearance.

Perhaps the most singular instance of Russian ecclesiastical architecture, is the church of "Vassili Blagennie" (the blessed), at Moscow, built by the order of Ivan the Terrible, in commemoration of the subjection of the kingdom of Kasan to the Russian rule. It stands near the gate of "our Saviour," and presents a mass of bulbs, peering one over the other, with the most grotesque effect, each of which is surmounted with the cross, with gilt chains appended to them, all glittering in the sun with quite a dazzling appearance.

This church has nineteen chapels attached to it, and the building is divided into two stories, with a distinct church both above and below, so that their roofs are anything but lofty. At the entrance, stands the Patron

* I particularly noticed this, when travelling in Russia, that the peasant—however pressed with hunger, cold, or other wants—never omitted the duty, at the post-house, to do homage to some saint hung in the corner of the room; of which the garish, unmeaning face of the figure seemed to understand the meaning quite as much as the peasant himself.—AUTHOR.

Saint, richly ornamented, to which the peasants are constantly bowing and crossing themselves. No orthodox Christian thinks of passing it without paying this mark of respect. The noble will leave his carriage (if anything of a devotee), and the isvorshik his droshky, to ask a blessing of the Saint. They will take off their hats, be the weather what it may, and cross themselves, when passing the many shrines which are to be seen in the city. Karamsin relates that Ivan was so much pleased with the work of the Italian architect, that to prevent this church being copied, and a similar one built elsewhere, he ordered his eyes to be put out! Oftentimes, in the Byzantine architecture, the cross surmounts the crescent, as a trophy of conquest of the Christians over the Mahommedans, when the Russians prevailed in expelling the Tartar tribes. In Moscow alone, there are nearly three hundred churches, including six cathedrals.

The church is divided into three parts; the inner and most holy division contains the grand altar; the second division, intended to contain the congregation, is the nave of the church, and is separated from the altar by a screen, on which are pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin, the apostles, and saints. These pictures, which are hideous daubs, seem rather to repel than to invite devotion. Some of them are of gigantic size; the face and hands only of the holy personage they are intended to represent are visible, whilst the garments have generally one embossed sheet of gold or silver, often studded with precious stones of great value, the pious offerings of some devotee. In the middle of the screen are the royal doors, which open to admit to the view of the congregation the holy sanctuary, and the preparations there being made for celebrating the mass. The screen is divid-

ed from the congregation by a rail, within which are the choir of singers and the readers.

The third division of the church is the "trapeza," or porch of the temple, which is only filled with worshippers when the nave is full; this frequently occurs, since the Russian churches, generally speaking, are very small. Over the doors of the church, and sometimes over the gates of the churchyard, are hung pictures of the saint to whom it is dedicated, and to which the people bow and cross themselves before they enter; and even when passing on the road they seldom omit this ceremony. The belfry is commonly separate from the church, and rises in a column like a steeple from the midst of the churchyard, which surrounds the house of worship. In these buildings the bells are suspended, for which the Russians have great veneration. Their bells are certainly the most harmonious of their kind, arising, it is presumed, from the mixture of silver with the metal. The custom of baptizing and consecrating the bells has long been established in Russia.*

The use of paintings is permitted in the Russo-Greek

* The great bell of Moscow, which is the largest in the world, was cast in the year 1736; it weighs twenty-three tons; its diameter is sixty-five feet; the height twenty-feet seven inches; and the thickness is two feet. The tongue of the bell is fourteen feet long, and six feet in circumference. This monster bell, the value of which is estimated at £50,000, is sunk about twenty feet in the ground, and is covered over with a light roof of timber. You descend to it by convenient steps, when it can be commodiously surveyed. I noticed, when I visited it, that this mountain of metal is partially damaged. The portraits of the different Sovereigns of Russia are stamped upon it, and extremely well executed; the natives regard it with great veneration. On festival days the peasants visit it as they would a church, considering it as an act of devotion, crossing themselves as they ascend and descend the steps. To the present time, it has defeated the skill of all the engineers to elevate it to its intended destination.—AUTHOR.

Church, but not that of images, which they deem to be idolatry. These paintings are intended as remembrances of the saints, and to assist the devotions of the ignorant. The churches have generally three altars, but they are without seats or pulpits. The people stand during the service, except on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, when they kneel and prostrate themselves in particular parts of the liturgy; and kissing the ground is their occasional practice. The altars, over which is a picture, are generally lit up with small wax tapers, which custom is supposed to have been derived from the primitive Christians, who, being driven to caverns and holes of the rocks to perform their religious services, were obliged to resort to lamps to light up their ceremonies. There is a large taper always suspended before the patron saint of the church, which is generally a hideous figure, with an embossed glory surrounding it. The grand altar has a canopy over it supported by four small columns, surmounted by a dove as a symbol of the Holy Ghost; it is richly adorned to commemorate the curtains of the temple of Solomon.

The doors, which are in the middle, are ornamented with great taste; upon the table is laid a massive cross of silver or gold, often set with precious stones, and likewise the gospel, with the "pyxis," or holy box, in which a part of the consecrated element is preserved for visiting the sick, or other purposes. The priests are not permitted to preach sermons, lest the simplicity of the gospel, and the pure word of God, should be corrupted by human subtlety.

The "Russo-Greek Church" acknowledges as the only rule of faith the Holy Scriptures, and the authority of the seven first general councils; but the interpretation

of the first, and the decisions of the others, are only allowed to the patriarchs as represented by the Holy Synod; they acknowledge the creeds of Nice and of St. Athanasius. Their church demands submission, not reasoning; the people, therefore, are not encouraged to search the scriptures, or even tradition, for themselves; hence their religion consists of numberless ceremonies, the principal part of their faith resting on tradition, the worship of saints, the adoration of relics, and to miraculous images, whereby their superstition is engendered; they furthermore endeavour to inspire the ignorant with awe and veneration, by the pompous magnificence and gaudy glittering with which their churches are adorned. The appearance of the clergy of the "Russo-Greek Church," during the services, is perhaps the most imposing of any clergy in the world. Taken for "all in all," they are the first class of any men of the empire; their long hair flows back upon their shoulders, their beards descend to their girdles, which dignifies even the meanest person, and, as a priest, causes him to look noble and majestic.

In the church all are considered equal before God; no one but the priests can enter the holy sanctuary, nor must any one witness the preparation of the holy mysteries of the mass, which is celebrated on Sundays and holidays with the administration of the sacrament; the priests stand before the altar, where, with hands raised to Heaven, they ask at intervals for the prayers of the faithful, and indicate to them from time to time the progress of the sacrifice. One of the priests then advances with a large Bible, from which he reads so rapidly that no one can, nor is perhaps meant to, understand him; he retires, and another announces that they are consecrating the bread of the holy ordinance, which ceremony com-

mences upon a psalm being chaunted to most heavenly music; the doors of the sanctuary, over which hangs a transparent veil, is now partially opened, when there may be seen the busy preparation within, all in dumb show, just sufficient to excite and keep up the attention of the congregation.

At length the grand door is opened, and displays the splendid interior of the sanctuary: the whole procession of priests now come forward bearing the precious emblems of the bread and wine, preceded by a verger with a burning taper; they then return to the altar, and place the elements upon it for consecration. This is a solemn ceremony of the high priest alone, who reads many prayers to himself, and supplicates God's blessing that these elements, by transubstantiation, might become verily the body and blood of Christ; this blessing is then supposed to be conferred upon them, and in a moment the numerous priests prostrate themselves at the altar, making signs of the cross, and kiss the ground repeatedly, when a great many bells announce the solemnization. The grand doors now move open, and the priest advances with the sacramental bread to divide amongst the worthy communicants, saying "Draw near in the faith and fear of God," and, holding the chalice in his hand, he says, "Grant, O God, that we have made a true confession;" the communicants then approach and kneel three times. A morsel of the bread steeped in the wine is put into their mouths on a small silver spoon; they kiss the chalice only, but are never permitted to drink from it. Long prayers follow this ceremony, which may be said to be of very miscellaneous subjects, including the Imperial family named individually. The choristers alone accompany the priest, and their chaunting is most

heavenly, chiefly performed by boys, since women are not allowed to sing in the churches. In the great cathedrals, where the ceremonies are performed by the bishops and high ecclesiastical dignitaries, they become very imposing when clothed in their sacerdotal robes, brilliant sometimes with gold and precious stones; the bishop represents the supreme Pontiff in the sanctuary of the temple of Solomon, with his long hair floating over his shoulders, and wearing his beard, by which he is intended to represent Moses and Aaron. A priest generally bears a branched candlestick before him with lighted tapers, significant of the hypostatic union of the two natures of the Son of God. The church service is not only long, but complicated; the priest reads the prayers, collect, and psalms, from a variety of books, all in the Sclavonic language, which is scarcely understood by the people; the psalms are read in a sort of recitative, and well-taught choral singers assist, which increases the solemnity of the worship considerably. Three divine services are performed daily at all churches, the matins, the liturgy, and the vespers. The docile attention of the congregations to the Greek services, in which they take no part, but are mere partakers of a pompous ceremony, is most striking.

They have no books in their hands either to follow the reading or the singing, and the only part left them to perform is that of crossing themselves, and repeatedly touching the floor with their foreheads; and, what is most singular, they never seem to grow weary of those long services, which sometimes last for three hours—you never see an inattentive person, much less a sleepy one; but there seems to be a devout religious abstraction amongst them, the appeals to the senses making strong

impressions on the mind, of a holy awe and veneration, not only for the worship, but for the great Author of all worship to whom it is directed; and it is a remarkable characteristic of the human mind, that the poorer the people are, with the more fervour do they cling to their faith, and the more prone are they to those absurd superstitions which may have been engrafted upon it; they seek eagerly for any ray of light with which to cheer their earthly prospects, and to help them on as it were to a brighter state of existence.*

The chaunting in the Greek Church service, to which allusion has been made, is perhaps scarcely to be equalled by any choral band of Europe. That which is called "The Singers of the Court," this triumph of the human voice, at the Imperial Chapel—where one hundred and twenty performers, educated from the age of five years for this choral service—is complete, and produces a sublime effect, the silvery notes of the children contrasting with the bass voices. It is said that no mechanical instrument could produce such a concord of

* I have witnessed almost all worshippers, from the Mahommedan in his mosque to the Pagan on the hill-tops; nor is there to me any subject so interesting, as to see how variously the same human being worships the same Creator, thereby evincing his divine origin, when God breathed into him the breath of life. This is shown by superstition, by idolatry, by sacrifices, which constitute religious services in the thousand and one forms under which the same God is worshipped, the same Saviour bowed to, and the same Holy Spirit reverenced, sometimes in ignorance, sometimes in truth. But, following the worshippers from the worship, do we not behold the thousand and one forms under which the same God is set at nought, the same Saviour crucified afresh and put to an open shame, and the same Holy Spirit grieved, quenched, and thrust out from that which he has offered to make his temple, this sinful covering of the flesh? The ritual and practices of the Russo-Greek Church, I found to be almost as impure as that of Rome herself.—AUTHOR.

sweet sounds, all singing with a degree of precision most astonishing to attain: they sometimes so affect persons present, when the grand chorus of "Gloria in excelsis" is sung, that they often burst into tears.* The Russians are naturally musical, even the very lowest classes.

The religion of the Russians is so leading a portion of their character, that any one abandoning it is considered at the same time as not only forsaking his God, but a traitor to his country; and, although their Church is very tolerant towards other creeds, yet she watches over her own flock with a rigorous jealousy. In all royal marriages which take place with members of this Church and those of another faith, the parties must conform to the Russo-Greek Church: this has been particularly the case with the members of the imperial family, who have mostly married Lutherans, who not only adopt the creed, but are generally baptized with some other name, mostly that of a saint in the calendar; otherwise than by such marriages, they do not seek to make converts to the Greek Church, but it is one of their fundamental laws that no Russian-Greek shall ever forsake his church for another. Although they cannot be called a proselyting church, yet they will not allow, in the Russian empire, any Protestant to turn Catholic, nor Jew nor Pagan to adopt any other creed than his own.

The general character of the Russo-Greek Church is by far more tolerant than that of the Romish Church; since, instead of being governed by one head or pontiff, she is governed by a board or synod, where ecclesiastical affairs are more likely to be treated liberally. The

* Madame Catalani, on hearing the choristers of the Chapel Royal, said—"My song is of this world, but their chaunt is of the world above."

Russians never interfere with the religions of other nations—they employ no missionaries to propagate their faith in distant parts of the earth—they have no public bodies nor societies to circulate either the Scriptures or the doctrines of their faith (which is strictly conservative, and not Catholic)—nor invade the dominions of others; but they will never be encroached upon, and it is very rare indeed that a Russian in any country changes his religion.

The festival of Easter is observed in the Russo-Greek Church with much pomp and ceremony; it is preceded by a seven weeks' fast,* emphatically called "the great fast," during which time the Russians banish from their food not only flesh and fowl, but milk, eggs, butter, and even sugar, from the small quantity of animal matter contained in refining it; they eat fish, soup, cakes flavoured with oil, tea and coffee, with almond milk, &c.; neither wines nor spirituous liquors are they allowed the use of, and some excludé fish on the first and last weeks of the fast, as they do on the Wednesdays and Fridays of the other weeks. The fasting in the Russo-Greek Church is even more rigidly observed than by the Papists. This fast is preceded by a seven days' feast, commonly called the "Butter week," as a sort of preparation for it, which is the gayest season at St. Petersburgh of any in the year, excepting the Easter week. The Russians give themselves up to an "*abandon*"

* The long fast becomes very solemn and *triste* for a stranger. I could not mix in Russian society during this period. When treading over their glazed floors, here and there intersected with beautiful groups of growing plants and flowers, particularly at the doorways, which give them a shrubbery effect, I was met with the usual announcement of the fast, "We are waiting for the coming of Christ," which is given as a reason for not offering any present hospitality.—Author.

of enjoyment, and there are, perhaps, no other people who more thoroughly enter into such festivities. Masquerades, balls, and theatres, offer their varied attractions to the upper classes; whilst booths are erected in the "grand place" of the Admiralty (and were formerly on the ice of the Neva, until it cracked and swallowed up a multitude of persons), for the entertainment of the "bourgeois." Here they have their swings, their ice-mountains, and every sort of amusement, which no people can more cordially enter into, and all with that happy harmony which is never disturbed by riot or confusion.

Such amusements are a part of the nature of a Russian, from the prince to the peasant. His Imperial Majesty, with his family, will enter the booth, and take their places miscellaneously among the people, with whom they converse freely, and for a time throw off royalty to partake of the national enjoyments. But the "Butter week" festivities being once over, there are other fasts besides, viz., the "Quadragesimal," or six weeks' fast. St. Peter's fast lasts from the Monday after Whitsuntide to the 29th June, and is sometimes longer or shorter. The fast of the Blessed Virgin is immoveable; it begins always on the 1st, and continues to the 15th August. St. Philip's fast is likewise immoveable, commencing the 15th November, and ending the 26th December. Besides these, the usual weekly fasts are Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year. These institutions were intended originally only for monasteries; but the second and seventh precepts of the Church bind them upon all Church members alike.

On the three last days of the Passion week, the churches are exceedingly thronged, each person holding

a small taper in his hand, which is burned throughout the Thursday evening, extinguished on Good Friday, and lighted again on Easter Eve. The sale of these tapers is an immense source of profit to the priests: some of them are ornamented with gilt, and cost as much as two rubles each. Another source of great traffic for the festivities of the Easter week, is the preparation of painted eggs, of which presents are made in such immense quantities, that some millions are used for the purpose; they are likewise imitated by eggs made in porcelain, on which is the inscription, "Christos vos Christ," or "Christ is risen."

It may be said, perhaps with scarcely any exception, that every person exchanges an egg as an Easter greeting; some of them are made of the most magnificent description for the Imperial family, their majesties presenting them to almost every member of the court, by whom these royal "Souvenirs" are much prized. Good Friday is given up to mourning and lamentation at the death of the Redeemer, whose body is represented in painting, embroidery, or half relief, in a sort of tabernacle, laid upon tressels and covered with a cloth, where it stands until the period of the resurrection. The doors of the churches are always open, when the people visit the holy shrine, and, with much seeming devotion, cross and prostrate themselves, and are allowed even to kiss the wounds of the cross, which they do, some of them seemingly impressed with deep sorrow, and, by their sighs and groans, to feel for the sufferings of the Redeemer, as if to say, "For *us* he suffered." There is in some of them a devout earnestness in their manner, as though they were really affected at the sight of the semblance merely of the "Man of Sorrows." Devotion may

possibly be sincere, if excited only by the senses, when you cannot reach the mind by conviction. We are not to despise those helps, although to adopt them with extreme caution, lest we might mistake the shadow for the substance.

Palm Sunday is deemed a national festival, which is generally honoured with the Emperor's presence, and that of the Imperial family.

A great procession takes place in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; the people flock to the churches, carrying branches and singing. These branches are sprinkled by the priests with holy water, to which they add their blessing, when the people bear away their palms. Some of the more devout leave their branches in the church, supposing that they thereby derive some healing influence. This festival is more particularly enjoyed by children, in which the juvenile members of the Imperial family join. The holy Lavepedium, or washing the apostles' feet, is a very imposing ceremony in the Russo-Greek Church.* This takes place on the holy Thursday, and is intended to represent Christ's washing the apostles' feet, to teach them thereby humility and brotherly love.

The church was crowded with military and peasants; the latter in their sheep-skin coats, and red beards, presenting a great contrast to the splendid uniforms of his Majesty's guards. They were very busy crossing themselves, and kissing the ground, whilst the officers off parade looked listless on, and as if taking no interest in what was passing. After mass had been performed at the altar, the twelve priests adjourned to another part of the

* The Author witnessed the ceremonies which he now describes in the Kasan cathedral at St. Petersburgh.

church, where a platform had been raised, covered with carpets, on each side of which were as many chairs; these priests represented the twelve apostles. An arm-chair at the bottom, facing the east, was placed for the bishop. With much ceremony, the priests were conducted to their seats, when the gospel was read recording the humility of our Saviour. The bishop then rose, and, taking off his pontifical robes, girded himself with a towel, took a basin of water, knelt down, and washed one foot of each priest, beginning with the youngest, and after having washed their feet he kissed them. Whilst this ceremony was going on, the gospel was read. When the bishop came to the last priest, who was supposed to represent St. Peter, he rose and said, "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" The bishop replied in the words of our Saviour, and having finished the ceremony, he resumed his pontifical garments and sat down. As the second gospel was read, the bishop repeated Christ's words, "Know ye what I have done?" The service was then concluded, and the people dispersed.*

The Easter Eve is very religiously kept, and flocks of pious devotees fill the churches, waiting for the resurrection of Christ.

The cathedral at ten o'clock at night was crowded almost to suffocation; the ladies in their best attire, the military with crosses and medals suspended to their uniforms, all seemingly in anxious suspense for the "coming of Christ." Thousands of peasants in their

* His reverence went off in a splendid equipage of a carriage with four horses, and I could not but contrast his priestly importance with the humility of his divine Master, whom he had this day been pretending to imitate.—AUTHOR.

sheepskin coats thronged the nave, marshalled about by the police in several squadrons, to make way for the priests in their different processions, looking like mere masses of ignorant matter, since their vacant gaze bespoke stupid astonishment at these mystic proceedings. Around the splendid portico, on the outside of the cathedral, a platform had been raised, which the priests made the circuit of in search of Christ, and at the altar a platform was likewise raised, which descended to the body of the church. A solemn dirge was chaunted by choristers, assisted by the priests, who were singing the most doleful requiem over the tomb of the Redeemer.

The church was very dimly lighted by a few glimmering lamps, interspersed here and there, just sufficient to impose a sombre gloom on the whole; but the people were each furnished with a small taper, ready in a moment to dispel the darkness. At eleven o'clock, a gun was fired from the fortress, when a procession took place of the priests with large tapers in their hands, the bishop preceding them. They kept up a mournful chaunt whilst coming down from the platform to go in search of the Saviour, which they did around the portico on the outside. The anxiety of the spectators was apparently raised to the highest pitch, and an awful stillness reigned among them, as though they really felt that their salvation depended on the resurrection. Having made the circuit of the church outside, precisely at midnight another gun was fired, and the priests returned to the cathedral, chaunting, with loud voices, "Christos vos Christ," or "Christ is risen." In a moment, as by a sort of electric effect, thousands of tapers were shedding their lustres on the polished corners of the temple, the granite pillars of which are as reflective as the brightest mirrors,

to hail the rising of the King of Glory, the people chaunting their hallelujahs to Him that inhabiteth eternity. "Lift up your heads, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is the King of Glory?—the Lord of Hosts, he is the King of Glory;" and then was heard the cannon from the fortress to "bruit it to the heavens." Fifty-three guns thus announced it; the people in the cathedral were all saluting each other as brethren; the red beards, with their warm embrace, "Christos vos Christ," seemed quite beside themselves with joy. They have a custom of bringing their loaves to the church to be blessed by the priests, previously to breaking their long fast, and numerous parties of them were sitting down, some outside, and some within the church, waiting for their loaves being blessed, whilst with others the ceremony was being performed. They were hugging each other with the most sincere joy at the coming of the Redeemer; they made no scruple to eat and drink in his presence, even in his temple, as though Christ was to become with them a temporal guest; they were spreading their napkins, and preparing for their repasts with much apparent glee. The Winter Palace and the streets were immediately partially illuminated, and every thing demonstrated the sincerest rejoicings at the resurrection of Christ—the most imposing festival of any in the Russo-Greek Church.

The Easter week is by far the greatest holiday throughout the year in Russia, and the resurrection of Christ is celebrated by the people with every demonstration of joy; they hug and embrace each other from the sovereign to the peasant, with "Christ is risen;" Is he really risen, "brother?" Nothing seemingly can exceed their happiness at the great event, and the kissing begins in

the most wholesale way. The Emperor is presumed to kiss every one on parade on the Easter morning, and the colonel every soldier in his regiment; his Imperial Majesty has been often seen kissing the sentinel on guard on Easter Sunday.

Public and private feasts prevail throughout the Easter week; the long fasting is followed by a feasting, which sometimes degenerates to excesses, where brandy flows almost as freely as water among the peasants. The booths are again erected; Petersburgh becomes a great fair, the streets are thronged with splendid equipages of persons hastening to exchange visits of congratulations and kisses. The churches are still open, and, to induce the people to visit them, the golden doors of the holy sanctuary, which remain closed throughout the year, are opened to the gaze of all those who really feel an interest in the resurrection of Christ, by attending at this season, and who may be deemed the faithful. The priest distributes the viaticum, which consists in a division of bread amongst them of small pieces of loaves, baked expressly for the Easter festival, having stamped upon them, on the outer crust—"Christ is risen." These morsels of bread the people throng very eagerly after, and, should they obtain any portion of it containing the letters of inscription, this is laid up as a relic.

With the Easter week ends the festival; but they must still have one day more, which they call the "Recollection Monday," whether for good or for evil, must depend on the saint or the sinner: piety and profligacy have both their devotees; but it is a singular fact, and well attested in St. Petersburgh, that the hospitals are never so full, nor the bills of mortality so heavy, as after the Easter festival.

The marriage-ceremony in the Russo-Greek Church is divided into three distinct branches—the betrothment, which takes place generally at the private residence of the parties some weeks before the marriage, when the priest gives a ring, first to the man, then to the woman, saying, "Thou, O God, hast showed us that pledges should be given and confirmed by a ring; power was given unto Joseph in Egypt by a ring; Daniel was so honoured in Babylon; the truth was delivered with respect to Tamar by a ring; and by a ring our heavenly Father showed his kindness to his prodigal son: 'Put a ring on his hand,' &c. Thy right hand, O Lord, conducted Moses and his army through the Red Sea; by the word of thy truth the heavens were established, and the earth was founded; and by thy mighty and lifted up arm shall the right hand of thy servant be blessed. Bless, therefore, O Lord, the ceremony which we now perform, of putting on the ring, with thine heavenly benediction; and let thine angel go before them to guide them all the days of their life: for thou dost bless and sanctify all things; and to thee we offer up our praises —to thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, to ages of ages. Amen." After some further prayers, the priest then pronounces, "The servant of God is betrothed to the handmaid of God in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, to ages of ages. Amen." Other prayers then follow, with a blessing, and the betrothment is so far complete, that the parties cannot marry separately, should they desire to do so, without a dispensation from the bishop. At this time, the dowry is generally paid; and, if either party wish to retract the engagement, then the sum is forfeited. The wedding

follows at the church more generally in the evening than in the morning. It is not required that the parents, either of the bride or bridegroom, should be present to present the fair victim at the altar of Hymen.* The parties are led to the altar with lighted tapers in their hands, and the rings are deposited on the table.

The priest then incensed them cross-wise, when some prayers were read and the responses followed, the tenor of the prayers being, "that they may be preserved in concord and steadfast fidelity to each other; that they may have children for the succession of the family, and may obtain all their desires tending to their salvation; that the Lord may grant them perfect love and peace and mutual help; that they may be blessed in innocency of life.† The service is very long; some of the prayers are most beautiful and significant of it.

The priest now takes the rings from the table, giving one to each, saying, "Do thou, O Lord our God, bless the espousals of these thy servants, and confirm them in thy holy union; for thou, in the beginning, didst create them male and female, and appoint the woman for the

* The ceremony here described was witnessed by me at Moscow, of the wedding of some parties of distinction, the bridegroom being an officer of Hussars. Not only the church, but the street, was illuminated; a strong body of police guarded the entrance, nor were strangers indiscriminately admitted. I pleaded my being a "voyageur," come to visit their frozen regions, this being the month of February; and with that civility which always distinguishes the Russians to strangers, I was most courteously admitted. The church was filled to suffocation: it was a long time before the priests arrived, which gave me leisure to survey the bride and bridegroom; the former, bedecked with diamonds and plumed with feathers, looked quite ready for the sacrifice, whilst the latter, whose uniform was covered with military orders, looked (as I thought) as though he would rather brave the cannon's mouth than the coming ceremony.—AUTHOR.

† See Dr. King on the Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church.

help of the man for the succession of mankind. Do thou, O Lord our God, who hast sent forth thy truth upon thine inheritance, and thy promise upon thy servants our fathers, whom thou hast chosen from generation to generation, look upon this thy servant, and upon this thine handmaid, and establish the espousals made between them, in fidelity, in unity, in truth, and in love."

The coronation then takes place, when two imperial crowns are produced by a layman, which the priest takes; and, after first blessing the bridegroom, places one of them on his head, and, secondly, on the bride's, when the priest says, "The servant of God is crowned for the handmaid of God, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" then to the bride, saying, "The handmaid of God, &c. Thou dost put crowns of precious stones upon their heads; they asked life of thee and thou gavest it them, for thou shalt give them the blessing of eternal life; thou shalt make them glad with the joy of thy countenance."

The crowns are sometimes of garlands of flowers, but generally of silver or of some other metal, and are kept in most churches for this purpose. The common cup is then brought, which, being blessed by the priest, he gave it to the bridegroom, who, having taken a sip, transfers it to the bride, when the priest says, "O God, who hast created all things by thy power; who hast established the world, and adorned the crown of all things created by thee—bless with thy benediction the common cup, and impart it unto these persons now joined in the fellowship of matrimony." During this time the crowns are held by their friends; the priest then takes them by the hands, turns them about in a

circle and says, "Exult, O Israel, for a virgin hath conceived and brought forth a son, Emanuel, God and man; the East is his name; him do we magnify, and call the virgin blessed!" The parties having been again crowned, the priest, on taking off the bridegroom's crown, says, "Be thou magnified, O bridegroom, as Abraham; be thou blessed as Isaac, and multiplied as Jacob, walking in peace, and performing the commandments of God in righteousness!"

Taking off the bride's crown, he says, "And be thou magnified, O bride, as Sarah; be thou joyful as Rebecca, and multiplied as Rachel, delighting in thine own husband, and observing the great bounds of the law according to the pleasure of God." The blessing then follows, "O Lord our God, who wast present in Cana of Galilee, and didst give thy blessing to the marriage there, bless these thy servants, who by thy providence are joined in the fellowship of matrimony; bless their going out and their coming in, and replenish their life with good things; reserve them crowns in thy kingdom, and preserve them undefiled, blameless, and free from snares, for ever and ever." The "dissolving the crowns" is done on the eighth day after the marriage, when the happy pair attend the church for that ceremony, which the priest performs with appropriate prayers.

Then comes the burial-service in the order of succession; first, multiplying the human race, then depositing them in the tomb. "What a piece of work is man!" Immediately after the dissolution, the eyes and mouth of the corpse are closed by the friends of the deceased, when two copper coins are commonly laid on the mouth. The body is then washed and dressed, and a garland of flowers placed on the head of the corpse; if a mar-

ried woman, a rich coif in all cases; the hands are crossed on the breast, and a priest is sent for, who perfumes the body with incense, singing psalms over it. To persons of distinction, when their friends die, a succession of priests and clerks attend the chamber where the corpse lies, and read alternately the gospel and the psalms day and night, until the body is removed for interment, which is generally after seven days, during which time ablutions of hot water are frequently applied to it, to try if any life be yet remaining. On the third day, the corpse is placed in the coffin, and, before its removal for interment, the last kiss is given it by the priest, and then by the relations and other mourners.

The priest precedes the corpse with a taper, and the deacon with a censer. The coffin is surrounded with a profusion of torches, carried by priests, singing all the while, according to the rank and fortune of the deceased; the coffin, when taken to the church, is still open, while the officiating priest recites the prayer for the dead; the service, which is very long, begins with the 91st psalm. Before the corpse is consigned to its last home, a sort of confession or prayer, commonly called "the passport," is read aloud in the Sclavonian language, of considerable length, which may be thus abridged:—"Thou, O triune God, didst create me (here stands the name of the person) for virtue; but I have often scorned and grieved it sorely. Judge me not according to my work, but according to the true faith, after the wisdom of the holy Eastern Church, in which I was brought up. I place my confidence in the love of Christ, and implore pardon with my last breath. At the departure of my soul from my body, I beseech thee to receive my spirit into thy hands, and, according to thy mercy, receive me into the

everlasting beatitude, for ever and ever,—Amen." This prayer is placed in the hand of the deceased—there is no law of the church for it—it is an observance founded merely on custom and ancient usage.

When the body is laid in the grave, the priest, taking up some earth on a shovel, casts it crossways on the top of the coffin, saying—"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the round world, and they that dwell therein," after which he pours upon it some oil from a lamp, or scatters some incense upon it. During the succeeding six weeks, prayers are read every day in the apartment where the departed terminate their existence; and on the sixth, the eleventh, and the fortieth days, the priests, and many of the relatives, again repair to the church, and celebrate a solemn service.

Having given a cursory glance at the constitution, and some of the ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia, we will now briefly revert to her doctrines. They comprise, first, that of the Trinity; but the Russian divines hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Father and the Son, as in the eighth article of the Nicene creed; they hold also the invocation of saints, who are very numerous in their calendar; not believing them to be gods, as cleansed from original sin, but as more fitted to address their prayers to God than to address themselves immediately to the Almighty. They admit the prayers for the dead as an ancient custom; but not so much from respect to the dead, as to impress on the minds of the living the sense of their mortality; they do not allow the doctrine of purgatory, nor attempt to determine anything respecting the state and condition of departed souls; but they allow of prayers for the remission of sins of the departed. In-

dulgences and dispensations they utterly eschew, as inconsistent with the word of God.

Predestination is a doctrine of the Russo-Greek Church, and a very prevailing opinion amongst the people of Russia. No church has ever been so little dogmatical; it neither pretends to infallibility, nor to determine the perdition of those souls whom it believes to be wandering in error. In all the services, prayers are offered to the Virgin Mary, whom they thus address:—"In remembrance of our most holy, most pure, most blessed, and glorious lady! The mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary, with all saints, we commend ourselves and each other, and our whole life, to Christ our God." They use likewise the following prayer, addressed to the Virgin:—"Most blessed Virgin, thou art the temple and the gate, the palace and the throne of the King, by whom Christ, the Lord my Saviour, was manifested to those who lay in darkness, arising as the sun of truth, to enlighten those whom his hand hath formed after his own image. Cease not thou, most glorious, who hast a maternal influence with Him, to pray for the salvation of our souls! Hail, thou impervious gate of the Lord! Hail, thou will and protection of all who flee to thee! Hail, thou who art the peaceful heaven! O, most blessed, who didst bring forth thy Saviour and thy God in the flesh, pray earnestly for those who sing and adore thy childbirth! O thou, who art purer than the cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim, who, being immaculate, brought forth God the word, we magnify thee, the mother of God."

They have no catechism, nor profession of faith, in the Russo-Greek Church which may be properly so called; what they term a catechism, is divided into three parts,

Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith is subdivided into twelve articles of the Nicene creed, and the seven mysteries; Hope into the Lord's prayer, and the nine beatitudes; and under Charity are contained the ten commandments, counsel, might, knowledge, piety, and the fear of the Lord.

There is great respect paid to the relics of departed saints and martyrs by the ignorant worshippers, since they attribute to them miraculous agency.* They have no rite of confirmation in the Russo-Greek Church; the child, as soon as it is baptized, is held immediately to be as perfect a Christian as any rites of baptism can make them. They repudiate altogether the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as inconsistent with scripture; and the sacrament is sometimes administered to infants before they can speak, particularly if they are sick or dying. This, which we should deem a desecration of the eucharist, is thought by their priests to have a saving effect.

They have seven Sacraments—Baptism, the Chrism, the Eucharist, Confession, Ordination, Marriage, and the Holy or Extreme Unction. The doctrine of transubstantiation is not that of the ancient Greek Church, but it was adopted after the celebrated council of Innocent III., when the following article of this faith was thus pronounced, "In which Church, Jesus Christ himself is the very priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood, in the sacrament of the altar, are contained under the species of bread and wine, they being transubstantiated by divine power, the bread into the body, the wine into the blood, that he may receive of his what he hath received of ours to perfect the mystery of unity."

* See Dr. John King on "The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church."

This doctrine is now generally received in the Russo-Greek Church, and they quote the following expression of our Saviour, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." "Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

The nine precepts of the Church are—attendance on the public worship, the observance of the four great fasts, the reverencing persons in holy orders, auricular confession, not reading heretical books, praying for the supreme powers, spiritual and temporal, and for the conversion of heretics, observing particular fasts or penances appointed at confession by the bishop or confessor, not embezzling the goods nor revenues of the Church, prohibiting the solemnizing of marriage in the time of the fasts, it being deemed unlawful and unlucky to marry during Lent. After the precepts come the seven deadly sins—pride, covetousness, fornication, envy, gluttony, revenge, and sloth; then the three sins against the Holy Ghost—presumption, despair, and opposition to the truth and the orthodox faith; and three sins against which vengeance is denounced in this life—murder, oppressing the widow and the orphan, and withholding the hire of the labourer; there are then seven charities to the bodies—giving food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, relieving the prisoner, visiting the sick, burying the dead; and seven charities to the souls of men—converting the sinner, teaching the ignorant, giving counsel to those who want it, praying for our neighbours, bearing injuries with patience, and forgiving our enemies.

In the Russo-Greek Church every member is expected

to communicate once a year, which is commonly done during the long fast before Easter; they receive it standing. Before communicating, the communicant kisses the pictures of Jesus and the Virgin, the example being set them by the priest.

The Eucharist is a very solemn service in the Russo-Greek Church; the doctrine of transubstantiation, which has been before alluded to, is thus admitted by the priest. "He believes and understands that the transubstantiation of the body and blood of Christ in the holy supper, as taught by the Eastern and ancient Russian doctors, is effected by the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, when the bishop or priest invokes God the father in these words, 'and make this bread the precious body of Christ;'" hence they admit the "real presence" in the Eucharist as "a mystery, in which true believers do participate the real body of Christ under the form of bread, and the real blood of Christ under the form of wine." They mix warm water with the wine, and the lay communicants receive both the elements together, the bread being steeped in the cup, but the clergy receive them separately.

The benediction of the loaves is a ceremony which takes place in the middle of the church, and so particular are they in consecrating the elements, that even the napkin which is spread upon the holy table, must have some small particles of the relics of a martyr mixed in the web, without which the Eucharist cannot be administered.

Confession is an indispensable duty for the communicant. This is called one of the mysteries of the Church, and may be divided into two classes—public and private; the first consisting of the confession of notorious

and scandalous sins before the congregation, the priest pouring ashes on the head of the sinner, and sprinkling him with holy water, saying at the same time, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." This is commonly done on the first day of Lent, which gives it the name of Ash-Wednesday. The second ceremony is the private or auricular confession to the priest, whose duty it is to subdue the pride of the stubborn by the threats of God's judgments, and to support the penitent with the offers of his mercy: he can grant to the confessionists pardon, and admit without any penance to a participation of the holy mysteries.

Exorcism is a ceremony in the Russo-Greek Church, since the priests believe in the doctrine of being "possessed with a devil;" hence their custom of bringing maniacs to the shrine of the Panagua to be prayed over. They refer to the story told by Josephus, of Eleaser the Jew casting out devils by the help of a ring, on which a root was set, said by some to have been discovered by Solomon. The smell of the root, put under the nose of the person possessed, made him to fall on the ground; and the exorcist conjured the devil, forbidding him to return into that body. They refer also to our Saviour's giving his apostles power over unclean spirits; and to St. Paul, "I command thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her." This gift, they say, was continued to the Church from the time of the apostles; hence their ceremony of exorcism, which begins by the priest loosening the girdle of the person possessed, turning him towards the east, his head uncovered, his feet naked, and his hands held down; he signs him on the forehead and on the breast three times, blows in his face, and pronounces several prayers (which may not interest the reader).

Baptism is an important rite in the Russo-Greek Church. When the woman is delivered, the priest goes to the house, and uses a form of prayer for the child, who is on the eighth day carried to the church to be purified, after which follows another service, when it is supposed to be possessed before baptism. Sponsors are required, but their number is not limited. The ceremony consists of three immersions, some say in regard to the holy Trinity, others, to the three days' burial of Christ; the service is long, and the prayers are very scriptural.

The monastic institutions of Russia were introduced at a very early period, and are mostly dedicated to St. Basil; the monasteries were built principally by princes and bishops, to immortalize the reign of the former, and that the latter may, through them, be admitted into heaven's kingdom. We have but little history of them until the reign of Peter the Great, except that they became religious harbours for sloth and iniquity; which did not escape the vigilant eye of that sovereign, and he issued edicts to correct these abuses. He ordered the registering of all the monks and nuns in the kingdom; he prohibited the building of new monasteries, and abolished many of the existing ones, and required three years purification of the novice, by giving proofs of his learning and of his obedience, before he could enter upon the noviciate; and, to avoid idleness, by employing himself in some work in the monastery. This law extended also to the nuns, who were to receive the communion four times a-year; there is a liberality noticeable in the monastic doctrines of the Russo-Greek Church, which does not extend to the Roman Church—"That for vows imprudently made, either by parents, to sacrifice their children to the

monastic life, or of wives to forsake their husbands, such resolutions," says the Greek church, "are displeasing to God, and contrary to the doctrines of Christ."

The chiefs of the monasteries are called Archimandrites, who have the government of the revenues, and administer all important affairs. The immediate superintendent of the cloisters, and domestic arrangements, are called Hegumens; they act under, and at the entire control of, the chief. Although the monks are all of one order, yet they are of three degrees, the probationers, the proficients, and the perfect; the last take a great angelic habit when he renounces, not only the sin and vanities of the world, but his friends and relations, wife and children.

A very interesting edict was published by Peter the Great respecting the monasteries, addressed to the Holy Synod, bearing date January 30, 1724, of which the following is a part only. He commenced by showing the origin of the monastic life, and the end for which it was established, refuting the false idea of its being founded on these words of Christ—"Whoso forsaketh father and mother," &c. He alluded to the 6th chapter of Numbers, in which the order of the Nazarites was instituted of the Lord—"When either man or woman shall separate themselves, to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord: all the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow." The Greek word *monk*, denotes a person without company or society; the word monastery denotes a society of such monks: some embraced it from conscientious motives, others

from imagining that it was impossible to obtain salvation by living in the world; but this is denied in the edict, which says—"According to this opinion, not only good princes, but the chiefs of states, whom God hath called to govern mankind, and who are the images of the divinity upon earth, must be shut out from the kingdom of heaven.

"Christians, in the primitive ages, who under persecution fled from mankind, dwelt in Palestine, Egypt, Africa, where their wants were supplied by the liberality of Nature; but were at length induced to associate together for mutual protection and edification. Hence, then, the origin of monasteries; and Basil the Great founded the first monastery in the desert of Pontus. But he laid down in his rules, that monks were not less obliged to work for others than for themselves; refuting the doctine which idle monks found upon, misinterpreting these words of our Saviour, 'Consider the fowls of the air,' &c. He says—'If all Christians had followed the instructions of those false devotees who preached up indolence, they would have totally subverted the Scripture, which commands all men to labour in their vocation: had those false doctrines been adopted, the consequence would have been, that no one would work, and mankind must have been reduced, by their own misconduct, to the dreadful necessity of dying of hunger,'" &c.

The edict goes on to state—"The Greek Emperors, being deceived by the false exterior of religion assumed by these monks, were induced to lend them money and influence to the building of monasteries; and at the time of the Turks besieging Constantinople, there were no less than thirty monasteries on the banks of the Bos-

phorus alone, with numerous others in the provinces of the empire; implying that the sloth and sensuality of these devotees had so infected the people, as to make them an easy prey to their invaders. To correct this in Russia, their Sovereigns had enacted many prohibitions to the grants of monies or lands to monasteries," &c. "This truth being established, that the rigour of our climate does not permit monks to live in deserts, agreeably to their first institution, it is necessary to find out proper means to keep them on a footing becoming religion. Only two reasons ought to be assigned for the monastic state—first, to gratify those who have a true call to this state; and, secondly, to fill up the functions of the episcopacy; since it is an ancient custom among us, that none but monks can arrive at this dignity, although at other times, in the three ages which immediately followed the death of Jesus Christ, bishops were certainly not monks. It being absolutely impossible, then, on account of the rigour of our climate, as we said, to recall our monks to their original institution, we ought to look to other means, agreeable to God, and instructive to mankind; and we have the greater reason to do this, since the life which the monks at present lead is only a false pretext. Monks are become the scandal and derision of other religions, and the reproach of our own; nay, they are dangerous to the state, since, for the most part, they are become useless sluggards, who go into convents merely for the love of idleness; and, as is well known, invent superstitious schemes, and even invite to tumult in the state. The greater part of our monks are country peasants, who, far from renouncing the ease and advantages of life, embrace the monastic state on purpose to procure them, and to avoid

those duties which their indolence renders burthensome. However, there is a kind of labour which those idle monks may perform, agreeable to God, and honourable in the eyes of man; which is, to serve the truly necessitous infants and old men. And these are the motives which induced us to order the Holy Synod to take care that the following articles be observed and executed." These articles are fourteen in number; amongst others, he says, "Great care is to be taken that the monks do not go out; in short, since they have quitted the world, 'tis not fit that they should go into it again: they shall receive into their convent invalid soldiers, those who have been dismissed the service, and are not able to work, and other truly necessitous persons; and shall provide hospitals for them, as ordered in the regulations.

"Monks shall be appointed to wait upon them, and the number of such monks shall be increased in proportion to the different degrees of their indisposition; and monks ought not to be less than thirty years of age." The Tzar ordered them "to cultivate the lands, and the nuns to employ themselves in spinning for the manufactories, and to provide the number of cooks, and arrange the cells; they shall receive no wages nor provisions beyond what the purveyor of the convent sees fit; they shall also regulate the servants, and appoint monasteries for orphans, where they are to be regulated." The capacious mind of Peter could even legislate on the minor points of order and decorum for his kingdom of monasteries, as though he was legislating for the whole kingdom of Russia, thus prefacing his decree, "Being now at leisure to attend to the inferior affairs of our empire, we think ourselves obliged to settle, in a more deter-

minate manner, what concerns the monastic state, as well as with regard to our hopes of eternal salvation, as for the good of society."

Of the inauguration ceremonies there are three classes; first, the probationer, who wears a black cassock and hood made of camel's hair; next, the proficient, who wears an upper cloak to distinguish him; and, lastly, the perfect, who wears the hood or veil down, and never suffers his face to be seen.

The inauguration ceremonies are long, with prescribed services. To take the degree of proficient, the monk must remain five days in the church, free from all occupation, except reading. The little bell rings, and he is then introduced by the sacristan; he makes three bows to the priest, and goes to take off his ordinary apparel. He puts on the cassock and hood, when a long service begins, in which he is reminded that, having determined to come hither to serve the Lord, and desiring to become a monk, it behoved him, first of all, to lay aside all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord; to possess meekness by which to become an inheritor of everlasting blessings; to lay aside the arrogance of the fashion of life, and to be submissive to all; not to murmur at the decrees which are commanded, but to be instant in prayer; not slothful in watching, nor to despond in temptation; not to be remiss in fastings, knowing that by fastings and prayer mercy may be obtained of the Lord; to abstain from evil thoughts, knowing that the adversary would remind him of his former life, and inspire him with hatred for virtuous society; that it became him, who had taken hold of the heavenly kingdom, not to turn back to those things which are behind; that he will not benefit for

the kingdom of heaven if he loves any thing more than God; that he may be worthy to take upon him the light yoke and burden of Christ, and to take up the cross and follow the Lord.

The service is very long, and concludes with the blessing and invocation, that he may be accepted of God, and kept by the Holy Spirit; that he may have acceptance through the most holy Lady, the Mother of God; that, as he casts off his unfeeling hair, he may lay aside unreasonable thoughts and actions, and may be worthy to take upon him the yoke and light burden of Christ, and to take up the cross and follow the Lord. After some more questions, the Hegumen takes up the scissors and cuts off the hair crosswise, and says, "Our brother hath his hair shorn off in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; let us say for him, 'Lord have mercy upon us.'" He then puts upon him the rheusa, and says three times, "Our brother is clothed with the garment of gladness," &c.; and then the girdle, "Our brother hath his loins girded about with the power of truth," &c.; then the mandgas, or upper garment, "Our brother receiveth the pallium, the pledge of the great angelic image;" then the cowl and hood, "Our brother is covered with the helmet, the hope of salvation;" then the sandals, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven;" the cross is then put into his hand, "The Lord said, Whoever will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me."

The kiss of fellowship is then given him, and the following is sung, "Let us acknowledge the power of mystery, my brethren, in the indulgent father, who sent out to meet and embrace his prodigal son, returning from sin to

his father's house, and again bestowed upon him the ensign of his own glory, mystically representing things above, and ordered the fatted calf to be slain. May we live worthily in the sight of our merciful Father, and of the glorious victim who was slain, the Saviour of our souls," &c. Prayers are then offered for the new monk, that he may attain the end of the monastic life, innocently, unblameably, and quietly; that he may live in all piety, devotion, and honesty; that he may put off the old man, and be clothed with the new man, which is created after God; that he may be delivered from affliction, strife, and necessity; that his sins may be forgiven, concluding with the following:—

"O, Lord our God, admit this thy servant into thy spiritual field, and number him with thy rational flock; cleanse his mind from all fleshly lusts, and the vain deceits of this life, and let him always be mindful of the good things that are laid up for them that love thee, and crucify themselves in this life for the sake of thy kingdom; for thou art the shepherd and bishop of our souls, and to thee we offer up our praise, to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, to ages of ages. Amen."

Before a man can enter a monastery he must be free from all worldly engagements and obligations, such as the public service, the tie of a master, ties of marriage; he must have no debts, nor accounts to settle with justice. Monks expelled from the monastery for misconduct, are at the disposal of the government.

The monastic authorities have also the right to make wills; and the clergy of every sort are prohibited from engaging in any kind of trade or worldly calling.

Theological academies confer honours of the first and

second degree, which correspond to the title of master of arts. The seminaries confer on their pupils licences of two degrees.

There are twenty monasteries in Moscow only, and some of them very rich. That of the "Conception," within the Kremlin, has three churches attached to it; that of "Andronieff" was built by the metropolitan St. Alexis, and has a silver vase in it containing the remains of the saint; that of the "Saviour," in the Tajanka, is a very large building surrounded with walls, flanked with towers, built in 1462; it contains likewise an hospital for poor invalids, and large burying-grounds, beside many gardens; that of St. Simon, founded by St. Theodore, has five churches attached to it; and strong walls surround it; that of the Donskai, built in 1591, to commemorate the deliverance of Russia from the invasion of the Tartars of the Krimea; and that of "St. Sergius," said to be extremely rich, the saint's tomb being covered with a canopy of massive silver; the robes of the Archimandrite are numerous, and of the most costly description, one of them being valued at more than £14,000 *sterling!*

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA.

		BEGAN TO REIGN. A. D.	REIGNED.
1.	Rurik	852	27 Years.
	Oleg (Regent)	879	34 „
2.	Igor I.	913	32 „
	Olga (Regent)	945	20 „
3.	Sviatoslof I.	965	7 „
4.	Yarapolk I.	972	8 „
5.	Vladimir I.	980	35 „
6.	Sviastapolk I.	1015	4 „
7.	Yaroslaf I.	1019	35 „
	The Poles made Russia tributary to them during this reign.		
8.	Isiaslaf I.	1054	24 „
	This reign was interrupted by the usurpations of the Princes— Vsevolod, Igor, and Wiatscheiav, when Isiaslaf was restored in 1017, and reigned until 1078.		
9.	Vsevolod I.	1078	15 „
10.	Sviastapolk II.	1093	20 „
11.	Vladimir II.	1113	13 „
12.	Metaslaf I.	1126	6 „
13.	Yarapolk II.	1132	7 „
14.	Vsevolod II.	1139	6 „
15.	Igor II.	1145	... Six weeks only.
16.	Isiaslaf II	1145	9 „
17.	Joury I	1154	13 „
18.	Andrew I.	1167	7 „
19.	Mikhail I.	1174	2 „
20.	Vsevolod III.	1176	36 „
			Interregnum of 6 „
21.	Joury II.	1218	20 „
22.	Yaroslaf II.	1238	9 „
23.	Andrew II.	1247	7 „
24.	Alexander I.	1254	10 „
25.	Yaroslaf III	1264	8 „
26.	Vassili I.	1272	4 „
27.	Dimitri I.	1276	18 „
28.	Andrew III.	1294	10 „
29.	Mikhail II.	1304	15 „
30.	Georges and Alexander contesting Princes.	1319	9 „
31.	Ivan I.	1328	12 „
32.	Simeon I.	1340	13 „
33.	Ivan II.	1353	6 „

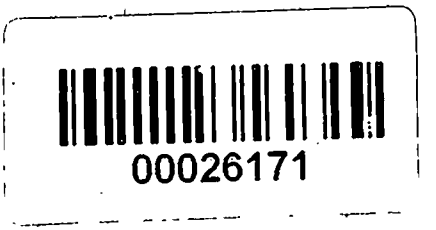
		BEGAN TO REIG A. D.	REIGNED
34.	Dimitri II.	1359	4 Years.
35.	Dimitri III.	1363	26 ,,
36.	Vassili II.	1389	36 ,,
37.	Vassili (the Blind) III.	1425	37 ,,
38.	Ivan (the Great) III.	1462	43 ,,
39.	Vassili IV.	1505	29 ,,
40.	Ivan (the Terrible) IV.	1534	50 ,,
41.	Feodore I.	1584	14 ,,
42.	Boris Goudonoff (the Tartar)	1598	7 ,,
43.	Dimitri III.	1605	1 ,,
44.	Vassili Chousky	1606	4 ,,
			Interregnum 3 ,,
45.	Mikhail Feodorovitch III.	1613	32 ,,
46.	Alexis Mikhailovitch	1645	31 ,,
47.	Feodore Alexeiovitch III.	1676	5 ,,
48.	Ivan Alexeiovitch V. (reigned jointly.) Peter Alexeiovitch I. (reigned jointly.)	1681	8 ,,
49.	Peter Alexeiovitch (the Great)	1689	36 ,,

		REIGNED Y.	M.	D.	DIED.	AGE
50.	Catherine Alexiovana I.	1725	2	3	7...May 17, 1727	58
51.	Peter Alexeiovitch II.	1727	2	8	12...Jan. 30, 1730	14
52.	Anna Ioannovna I.	1730	10	9	0...Oct. 28, 1740	47
53.	Ivan Andonovitch IV.	1740	1	1	0.....An Infant.	
54.	Elizabeth Petrovna I.	1741	20	1	0...Dec. 29, 1761	51
55.	Peter Feodorovitch III.	1761	0	6	0	35
56.	Catherine Alexeiovna (the Great) II.	1762	34	4	0...Nov. 6, 1796	68
57.	Paul Petrovitch I.	1796	4	4	14...March 25, 1801	47
58.	Alexander Paulovitch I.	1801	24	0	0...Dec. 1, 1825	48
59.	Nicholas Paulovitch I.	1825	30	0	0...March 2, 1855	59
60.	Alexander II..					

RUSSIAN DYNASTIES.

1. The Varangians	From Rurik to Feodore 41 Sovereigns. 746 years.	Began	852
		Ended	1598
2. The Tartars	Boris Goudonoff ended with Feodore. 2 Sovereigns—7 years.	Began	1598
		Ended	1605
3. Romanoff	From Mikhail to Elizabeth. 10 Sovereigns. 128 years.	Began	1613
		Ended	1741
4. Holstein Gottorp	From Peter the Third 5 Sovereigns.	Began	1762
		Still reigning.	

The present Imperial House sprung from Peter the Great, through his daughter, Anne, Duchess of Holstein Gottorp, in 1728, distinct from that of the line of Romanoff, from whom the Princes of the former house are the only legitimate Heirs.


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